

JANUARY 23, 2006

THE NEXT TOM DELAY?
JOE KLEIN IN ISRAEL
STONED BABY BOOMERS

TIME

American REBEL

He speaks his mind — and apologizes later. He loves to party — and doesn't care about winning. Yet **BODE MILLER** is poised to strike Olympic gold. On the slopes with skiing's bad boy
By Bill Saporito



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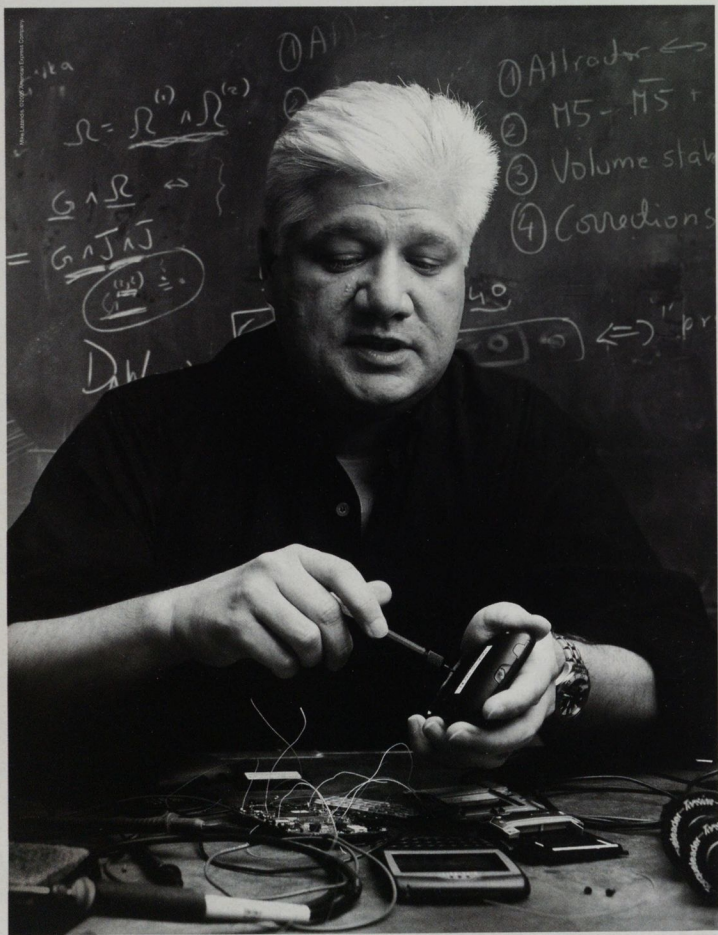
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My name *is Mike Lazaridis*
childhood ambition *was to change the world.*
fondest memory *is the image of my children's smiling faces.*
soundtrack *is laughter.*
retreat *is reading.*
wildest dream *is to unlock the secrets of the universe.*
proudest moment *the opening day gala at Perimeter Institute for Theoretical Physics.*
biggest challenge *is spending more time with my family.*
alarm clock *is my BlackBerry.*
perfect day *is spent at the cottage with my family.*
first job *during University was designing microcode*
indulgence *is watching movies with my lovely wife.*
last purchase *was 4 iPod Nanos, one for each member of the family.*
favorite movie *is Primer.*
inspiration *is the power of imagination.*
My life *is about making ideas happen.*
My card *is American Express*



Mike Lazaridis

My life. My card.SM




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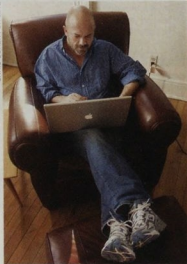
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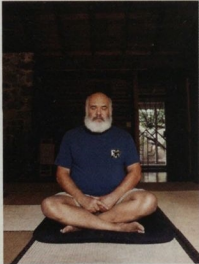
New Roles for Two of Our Favorites

UNLIKE MOST COLUMNISTS, Andrew Sullivan doesn't take sides—he makes new ones. Neither predictably right nor left, Andrew always has an invigorating take on the subject of the day—whether it be politics, religion, society or culture. TIME readers have enjoyed his essays for years (in fact, he has one on this week's back page), and now you can enjoy his observations every day on TIME.com, which is where you can find his blog, the *Daily Dish*. One of the original bloggers, Andrew has a loyal Web readership that constantly informs and challenges him. If you are not already a fan, I urge you to check him out on TIME.com. I'm confident you will find him as engaging as I do.

CHRIS USHER FOR TIME



I'm also delighted to announce that this week Dr. Andrew Weil, another long-time friend of TIME's (we excerpted his book *Healthy Aging* last October), joins us as a columnist. Readers who enjoy Dr. Sanjay Gupta, Christine Gorman and



SULLIVAN AND WEIL Both can be found on TIME.com as well as in TIME

other members of our health team can look forward to reading Andy once a month. Andy preaches the ultimate in preventive medicine. His advice on how to live a well-balanced life has won him millions of fans. And TIME readers can now send him questions on TIME.com after his columns appear; we'll pick out the best ones and then post Andy's answers on TIME.com.

Jim Kelly

James Kelly, Managing Editor

TIME
ONLINE EDITION

Before she skated off with the gold at the 2002 Winter Games,

Sarah Hughes twirled her way onto the cover of TIME. View our past Olympic covers online, including those of Eric and Beth Heiden, Phil Mahre and Tamara McKinney. And starting Feb. 10, visit time.com for photos and commentary from Torino, Italy.

COVER WORTHY We've highlighted skate and ski champs alike

THE TIME.COM POP QUIZ Who was the last American athlete to win gold in a Winter Olympic Alpine ski event?



Phil Mahre



Bode Miller



Tommy Moe



Picabo Street

FOR THE ANSWER Go to time.com/olympicquiz, where you can test your knowledge about the history of the Winter Olympic Games.



JANE ADOX/SHOOTING WORLD

VOICES OF KATRINA Photographer John Chiasson has captured the images and voices of Katrina victims as they recount their stories of survival amid the devastation. Watch this moving presentation at time.com/katrina.

SUNDANCE The next best thing to hobnobbing with the stars at the Sundance Film Festival is reading about it on time.com.

Get the latest buzz from Park City, Utah; interviews with actors and directors; and much more from correspondents Rebecca Winters Keegan and Desha Philadelphia, starting on Jan. 19.



ANTHONY MARRAS



Charlie
rose

TIME journalists appear regularly on PBS with interviewer Charlie Rose to discuss the events of the week, fascinating characters and major ongoing stories that they are following. Check out charlierose.com for up-to-date schedules, show transcripts and the Charlie Rose Show message board.

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10 QUESTIONS FOR EMMA THOMPSON

Oscar-winning actress and screenwriter Emma Thompson, 46, trades corsets and curls for padding and a monobrow in her new film about an ugly but magical child minder, *Nanny McPhee*. Over tea, the Briton tells TIME's Rebecca Winters Keegan why *Mary Poppins* got it wrong, why becoming a parent at age 40 requires a bit of extra effort and why she stores her Oscars in the loo.

HAIRY MOLES, A SNAGGLE-TOOTH—DID YOU ENJOY PLAYING A HAG? This look took an upsettingly short time to achieve. It took longer to get dressed up for bloody *Sense and Sensibility*.

THE MORAL OF NANNY MCPHEE SEEMS TO BE THAT CHILDREN CAN HANDLE HONESTY FROM ADULTS. IS THAT WHAT YOU BELIEVE? They're miles more O.K. with the sort of rigors, tragedy and innate chaos of life than we are. This understanding of chaos is something we lose as we get older. It's a shame, because it makes us much more rigid.

MARY POPPINS WAS PRETTY, AND SHE SANG. WHAT HAS NANNY MCPHEE GOT ON THAT? She has a magic stick. She makes space. She's the opposite of Mary Poppins, who turns up and shows off and starts pulling things out of her carpetbag. This movie is a western. There is a situation of chaos. Then a stranger rides in and—using unorthodox methods—sorts out the situation, restores balance and then has to leave. People say, "Is it like *Mary Poppins*?" Actually, it's like *Shane*.

YOU WROTE THIS SCRIPT AS WELL AS SENSE AND SENSIBILITY. DO YOU HAVE ANY RITUALS WHEN YOU WRITE? No. My husband restored a barn in Scotland where we partly live, and he made a space at the top and



said, "That'll be where you write." I haven't written a bloody thing there because it was designed for me to write in, so of course I can only write in the toilet. I write longhand. I find computers so overwhelming. They seem somehow more adult than me.

WHAT'S YOUR PERSONAL TAKE ON NANNIES? I had a nanny when my daughter was younger. She's 6 now. The nanny was a third pair of hands. You both get so knackered. But

I would say to people, For heaven's sake, if you're going to have kids you've got to put the work and the time into it. Otherwise, there's no point. Once you're a mom, you're not just you anymore. You're split. It is a completely different human state. I noticed that more because I had my child when I was 40. My tectonic plates had slid into place. Having to shift them again is something you notice.

WHAT ARE THE LIES WE TELL ABOUT PARENTHOOD? That it's

so wonderful. There's no question about that. But it's also difficult, tiring and boring.

YOU AND YOUR HUSBAND HAVE ALSO ADOPTED A RWANDAN ORPHAN. HOW DID THAT COME ABOUT? Well, we haven't officially adopted him. We work with refugees in London, and one day we met this wonderful Rwandan lad who was 15 at the time. He had been through some awful things. He's 19 now. I don't like nuclear families. I think it's very good to look beyond your tribe.

MOST ENTERTAINERS LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THEIR CHARITABLE WORK. BUT YOU'RE ALMOST SHY ABOUT TOUTING YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN HIV/AIDS AND REFUGEE CAUSES. WHY? Sometimes it seems an aggrandizing thing to talk about it. I do think Live 8 and all that was excellent and people do become much more aware. But engagement is where it's all going to change things.

WHAT WOULD YOU HAVE PEOPLE ENGAGED TO DO? The insanity of consumption bothers me. Talk about the opiate of the masses. It ain't religion anymore. It's stuff. Why don't governments stop people from making crap?

I HEAR YOU KEEP YOUR OSCARS IN YOUR BATHROOM. You hear correctly. They look far too *outré* anywhere else. They're great big, gold, shiny things. They're up there tarnishing quietly along with everything else I own, including my body. It does give people the opportunity to pick them up and play with them in privacy rather than having to say, "Can I hold that?" You'd have to come to my house. There's no posh space. Every space is kind of a family space. I'm surprised my daughter hasn't used them for nefarious purposes actually. They're heavy. ■



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INFORMATION FOR PATIENTS TAKING AMBIEN CR

Your doctor has prescribed Ambien CR to help you sleep. The following information is intended to guide you in the safe use of this medicine. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about Ambien CR tablets be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Ambien CR is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as:

- trouble falling asleep
 - waking up often during the night
- Some people may have more than one of these problems.

Ambien CR belongs to a group of medicines known as the "sedative/hypnotics," or simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Sleep problems are usually temporary, requiring treatment for only a short time, usually 1 or 2 days up to 1 or 2 weeks. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

SIDE EFFECTS

Most common side effects:

- headache
- somnolence (sleepiness)
- dizziness

You may find that these medicines make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of Ambien CR that is best for you.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine until you know whether the medicine will still have some carryover effect in you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- NEVER drink alcohol while you are being treated with Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking Ambien CR.
- Always take the exact dose of Ambien CR prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

SPECIAL CONCERNS

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

Memory problems: Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine.

Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia."

Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems. Although memory problems are not very common while taking Ambien CR, in most instances, they can be avoided if you take Ambien CR only when you are able to get a full night's sleep (7 to 8 hours) before you need to be active again.

Tolerance: When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness to help you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Sleep medicines should, in most cases, be used only for short periods of time, such as 1 or 2 days and generally no longer than 1 or 2 weeks. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

Dependence: Sleep medicines can cause dependence, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Some people develop a need to continue taking their medicines. This is known as dependence or "addiction."

When people develop dependence, they may have difficulty stopping the sleep medicine. If the medicine is suddenly stopped, the body is not able to function normally and unpleasant symptoms may occur (see *Withdrawal*). They may find that they have to keep taking the medicines either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks.

If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting Ambien CR or any sleep medicine.

Withdrawal: Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two.

In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

Changes in behavior and thinking: Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- confusion
- strange behavior
- agitation
- hallucinations
- worsening of depression
- suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used.

It is also important to realize that it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, an illness, or occur on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

Pregnancy: Sleep medicines may cause sedation of the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy.

Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking Ambien CR.

SAFE USE OF SLEEPING MEDICINES

To ensure the safe and effective use of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. Ambien CR is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take Ambien CR. Ambien CR tablets should not be divided, crushed, or chewed, and must be swallowed whole.
2. Never use Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. Do NOT use alcohol while taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take Ambien CR unless you are able to get a full night's sleep before you must be active again. For example, Ambien CR should not be taken on an overnight airplane flight of less than 7 to 8 hours since "traveler's amnesia" may occur.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some carryover effect in you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night after stopping Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store Ambien CR or any other sleep medicine in the original container that you received it in and store it out of reach of children.
11. Ambien CR works very quickly. You should only take Ambien CR right before going to bed and are ready to go to sleep.

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The Good Samaritans

The selection of Bill and Melinda Gates and Bono as TIME's Persons of the Year for 2005 was applauded by readers who admire the trio's powerful efforts to combat global poverty and disease. Other readers singled out different heroes, those who withstood the year's many challenges of disaster and war

YOUR CHOICE OF BONO AND BILL AND Melinda Gates as Persons of the Year was inspired [Dec. 26, 2005-Jan. 2, 2006]. In a year marked by unusual tragedy, it was heartwarming to read about an unprecedented outpouring of generosity. Your honorees are not only appropriately symbolic of that philanthropy but also unique examples of individuals who, by virtue of their wealth and fame, can change the course of history. What your story revealed, however, was that not just their wealth and fame heightened their impact. Credit the Gateses for learning firsthand about the diseases of the poor, then making careful choices about the deployment of dollars to ensure the greatest possible return for humankind. Credit Bono for his uncommon ability to build trust and empathy across an eclectic group of influential people.

BARRY BRIGGS
Mill Valley, Calif.

WHAT A STUNNINGLY BRILLIANT CHOICE. it's enough to restore faith in the essential wisdom of *Homo sapiens*. Bless you.

TONY STEBLAY
Minneapolis, Minn.

I CAN'T THINK OF ANY OTHER ISSUE I HAVE enjoyed more. It was filled with hope, courage and generosity.

KENT HANSON
Everett, Wash.

THE REAL PERSONS OF THE YEAR WERE the victims of Hurricane Katrina.

SAM BLISS
Rutherford, N.J.

THE VOLUNTEER SHOULD HAVE BEEN TIME's choice. Bono and the Gateses have the resources to do great things for the world, and they should be obliged to. There were, however, many people who



“Those three are much more than heroes. They are true world leaders, radically pioneering a course that is unifying the global community.”

RYAN BLACK
San Clemente, Calif.

left the comfort of their homes to help rebuild houses in tsunami-stricken countries. Generous people welcomed Katrina victims into their homes, and some individuals who were struggling financially managed somehow to donate money. Although Bono and the Gateses have done great things, people who help others out of the kindness of their heart are even more significant.

MARGARITA V. VANEGAS
Seattle

2005 WAS A YEAR OF GREAT PAIN AND FRUSTRATION as a result of the war in Iraq and devastating natural disasters. It would have been easy and predictable to select someone who personified the war or the horrific Hurricane Katrina disaster, but in a time of despair and anguish, Bono, Bill and Melinda bring hope. The work that unlikely team does for the world's poor makes me believe that if we band together, it really is possible to change the world for the better.

MEGAN MCCANN
Homewood, Ill.

THE COURAGEOUS VOTERS OF IRAQ ARE the ones who deserve that honor.

MYRA ADAMS
Alexandria, Va.

WHEN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND OFFICIALS regularly display their incompetence, it is refreshing to see what private citizens are able to accomplish on their own. Well done!

WARREN LEBOW
Voluntown, Conn.

GOD BLESSED BONO WITH A BEAUTIFUL voice and a beautiful soul. He is not another misinformed celebrity with a cause. He has done his homework, made friends on both sides of the partisan divide in Washington and worked to bring hope to those in despair. I would ask anyone who dismisses him as a pompous rock star, What have you done to help those plagued by poverty and disease?

SHANNON AUSTIN
Scottsdale, Ariz.

Unique Partnership

THE ARTICLE ABOUT THE ALLIANCE between former Presidents Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush [Dec. 26-Jan. 2] should be required reading for every

TIME
ARCHIVE
timearchive.com



■ Anytime families get together to celebrate holidays or take vacations, the specter of gridlocked highways and crowded terminals casts a shadow over travel plans. In our Sept. 12, 1988, cover story, we stated that “many travelers are looking back in anger at odysseys through potholed streets, jam-packed freeways, bottlenecked bridges and overstuffed airports.” Read more at timearchive.com.



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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

PRIMARY PROBLEMS

■ The Milestone on former Senator Eugene McCarthy [Dec. 19] said in error that his overwhelming victory in the 1968 Wisconsin primary persuaded Lyndon Johnson to drop out of the presidential race. Johnson announced his withdrawal before the Wisconsin primary.

■ We also mistakenly stated that Robert Kennedy defeated McCarthy in the June 5, 1968, California primary and was shot dead that night. The California primary was held on June 4. Kennedy was shot in the early hours of June 5 and died the following day.

NEVER A NOMINEE

■ The Milestone on comedian Richard Pryor [Dec. 19] said incorrectly that he won an Oscar nomination for his performance in *Lady Sings the Blues*. Pryor was never nominated for an Oscar.

politician in the country. You agree on some things and you disagree on others, but you work out the differences with dialogue and respect for each other. What an amazing concept!

DOUG WEAVER
Grand Rapids, Mich.

"WHEN OPPOSITES ATTRACT" DEMONSTRATES to partisan politicians that there are at least two political personalities, former Presidents Bush and Clinton, who can work together on a wide range of issues for the common good. Those two exhibited mutual respect, unselfish behavior, kindly affection and dignified civility rarely seen in or out of government. They give an impressive example of comity in a realm in which divisiveness and partisanship rule on many fronts.

ISAIAH J. ASHE
Huntsville, Ala.

Praise and Blame

JOE KLEIN'S COLUMN "IT'S TIME TO PIN A Few Medals," in which he pays "homage to those who have taken risky stands on principle" even when he has disagreed with them, left me feeling as if I were living in an alternate universe [Dec. 26-

Jan. 2]. Klein's praise of President George W. Bush for his words about the importance of freedom and democracy holds little weight against Bush's inept response to the Katrina disaster or his mostly failed approach to curtailing global terrorism. Klein should examine our President's actions rather than his words.

SANDY KRAWITZ
Bethesda, Md.

HOW UNUSUAL TO READ A POSITIVE COLUMN that complimented political leaders on both sides of the aisle. Congratulations to Klein for a wonderful and thoughtful article.

LAWSON A. THOMAS
Mesa, Ariz.

KLEIN'S PRAISE OF THE PRESIDENT "FOR standing with human-rights activists throughout the world" was off the mark. All Americans stand up for freedom, and most represent American values better than Bush does. His Administration propagates misinformation, circumvents the law and defends his actions—no matter how foolhardy—while attempting to squelch objective criticism.

STEVE MOSKOWITZ
Boston

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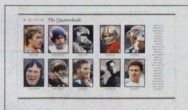
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“Did we really need to have our children die to have officials pay attention to us?”

MEHMET YENIGUN, resident of Diyarbakir, Turkey, after authorities declared an official avian-flu outbreak, but only following the death of three children who had been among 14 people infected

“Be quiet over there. Scurrilous dogs.”

EDWARD KENNEDY, Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, jokingly berating Judiciary Committee colleagues for groaning after he was granted two extra minutes to speak during Supreme Court nominee Samuel Alito's confirmation hearings

“I don't have any animosity for him. I hope he's praying for me in heaven.”

THOMAS GUMBLETON, 75, Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Detroit, alleging last week that he was sexually abused 60 years ago by a priest, whom he declined to name and said was dead

“We don't want a medieval knight.”

MAJOR GENERAL STEPHEN SPEAKES, explaining the drawbacks of providing too much body armor to soldiers in Iraq

“The vast majority of Iraqis prefer freedom with intermittent power to life in the permanent darkness of tyranny and terror.”

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH, warning Americans to gird for more violence in Iraq over the coming year

“The Donner party's experience was bad, but it wasn't as bad as everybody's been told.”

JULIE SCHABLITSKY, University of Oregon anthropologist, who, after completing a three-year study of the place where members of the infamous 1846 expedition allegedly resorted to cannibalism to survive, said she had no evidence to prove they had eaten humans

“Unlike other candidates, I'm not going to hide my evil side.”

JONATHAN (THE IMPALER) SHARKEY, former pro wrestler and candidate for Minnesota Governor, whose platform includes a plan to impale terrorists

“The doctor then told me that I should not do any events for three days and also said to me that I should not speak for three days. My wife said, ‘Make it seven.’”

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, California Governor, after cutting his lip in a motorcycle crash in Los Angeles

THE FBI GETS TOUGH

FOR MANY VOTERS IN the heartland, the Jack Abramoff congressional lobbying scandal has simply confirmed their suspicion that all the bums inside the nation's capital are on the take. But Washington's scandal du jour is just one example of the political corruption that the FBI is increasingly uncovering at all

Since only some of the former drug agents were moved to the counterterrorism division, the shift in focus freed up 200 additional agents to combat public corruption, says special agent Chris Swecker, the criminal-division chief. By 2003, senior FBI officials were fanning out to field offices across the U.S. to drive home the point that public corruption was now the



Swecker, left, is leading FBI efforts to crack down on corruption

levels of government across the country. Under code names such as Tennessee Waltz, Plunder Dome, Safe Road and Lively Green, the FBI has mounted a growing number of investigations and undercover operations that have busted cops, mayors, judges, Governors—and everyone in between. Since 2002, the FBI has engineered a surge of more than 40% in public-corruption indictments, with 2,233 cases pending nationwide, compared with 1,575 four years ago.

Much of that increase stems, strangely, from 9/11. As the FBI turned more of its attention and manpower to counterterrorism, the bureau handed off most of its drug-related inquiries to the Drug Enforcement Administration.

criminal division's No. 1 priority.

In Chicago, U.S. Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald, also the special counsel in the CIA-leak investigation, is presiding over an ongoing contracting and patronage probe that has already led to 30 indictments, including those of two lieutenants of Mayor Richard Daley. A federal official tells TIME that the bureau is looking closely at possible Daley links to the scandal, although an FBI spokesman stresses that Daley himself is not implicated to date. At the same time, former Illinois Governor George Ryan stands trial on various corruption charges (which he denies) that arose initially out of a probe into whether low-number license plates

FEMA STILL FIDDLES

were being doled out to political supporters when Ryan was Illinois Secretary of State.

Before Katrina pounded New Orleans last summer, that city's longstanding reputation for graft was reinforced by Operation Wrinkled Robe, which uncovered a bribery scheme initiated by a bail-bonds company at a local courthouse. In addition to various officials in the Jefferson Parish sheriff's office, two state judges were convicted for their roles in helping steer business (i.e., prisoners) to the firm. In San Diego local government has been effectively frozen—and a city-council member has been convicted (although he remains free on appeal)—as a result of a scandal in which local officials accepted cash bribes from a strip-club owner in exchange for promises to try to change a city law to allow hands-on lap dances.

Meanwhile, dozens of border guards, National Guard soldiers and other law-enforcement officials in Arizona have been charged



Ex-Illinois Governor Ryan, right, is on trial

with accepting bribes from FBI agents posing as Mexican drug smugglers. Towns in Florida and Connecticut—where Republican John Rowland quit the Governor's mansion in 2004 and went to jail last year for his part in a gifts-for-contracts scheme—also charging their local officials.

The FBI even had a local West Virginia politician facing corruption charges pose as a candidate in a state-legislature election in order to help

uncover vote buying and other instances of election fraud. The phony candidate pulled out before the actual election, but when he ended up with more than 2,000 votes in a close race, some critics wondered whether the feds had gone too far and skewed the results.

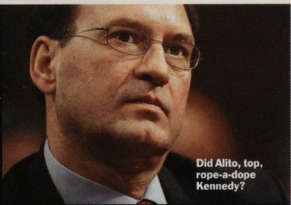
Corruption in politics is, of course, as old as politics itself. So the current spike in prosecutions does raise a rather obvious question that FBI criminal chief Swecker is happy to answer: "I don't think there is more corruption," he says. But with more agents on the job, "we're just trained better and look more to find it."

—By Timothy J. Burger. With reporting by Brian Bennett

Getting Over Alito

The Samuel Alito hearings are over—but some Democrats were left wanting more. Things went badly from the start: few Americans watched, and those who did saw Alito and his supporters calmly parrying suggestions that as a Supreme Court Justice, he would threaten America's balance of power, civil liberties and citizens' right to privacy. "He's rope-a-dopeing them," said a frustrated Democratic aide. Any points the Dems scored were erased by Alito's wife Martha-Ann, who broke down in tears as the questioning of her husband grew increasingly personal. Her emotional reaction sealed her husband's victory—but the Dems had other reasons to fight on.

Although Senate minority leader Harry Reid and other moderate Democrats would like to refocus on the more politically profitable work of bashing President Bush and the Republicans on Iraq and corruption, liberals including Ted Kennedy hope to delay the Judiciary Committee vote on Alito.



Did Alito, top, rope-a-dope Kennedy?

That would give advocacy groups time to target Alito via TV ads, petitions and phone banks. "They want some additional time to beat the drums in opposition," says an aide.

Defeating Alito seems unlikely. The best Dems can hope to do, the aide says, is highlight wedge issues that can be used against weak Republicans in November. Still, the liberal lobby is talking tough. "We've just begun to fight," says Ralph Neas of People for the American Way.

If anything, such words encourage G.O.Pers. Emboldened by the expectation that Alito's victory is secure, they are happy to drag out the debate an extra week. Doing so may produce a bonus by moving a vote confirming Alito closer to the State of the Union address on Jan. 31, allowing the President to showcase his win. —By Massimo Calabresi

Cattle flee a wildfire

that state's request for comprehensive disaster assistance to combat wild fires that have charred nearly 400,000 acres since November. Oklahoma requested funds from FEMA on Dec. 30 for a variety of measures, including the pre-positioning of supplies and retardant-dropping planes from out of state. But neither Governor Brad Henry nor his state disaster chief could get calls returned from FEMA in Dallas. "You just would not believe what they have put us through," said a Republican Congresswoman from Oklahoma. Political leaders from both parties finally asked the White House to lean on the agency. The "full-court press," as Henry spokesman Paul Sind calls it, worked: the aid was approved last week. A FEMA official noted that the agency had granted 24 smaller fire grants for the state and wanted to be sure the broader application for help was justified. —By Michael Duffy. With reporting by Rod Walton

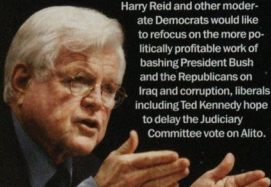


PHOTO TOP BY AP/WIDEWORLD; BOTTOM BY AP/WIDEWORLD; PHOTO BOTTOM BY AP/WIDEWORLD

The Blunt Instruments of War

If a U.S. attempt last week to kill Ayman al-Zawahiri, al-Qaeda's second in command, was indeed a total failure and neither he nor any other al-Qaeda leaders were killed, it could prove costly. In human terms alone, the price was high. Local reports, which could not be independently confirmed, said 18 people, mostly women and children, were killed by the CIA-directed missile strike on the village of Damadola, close to Pakistan's northwest border. U.S. officials say al-Zawahiri was the intended target.

DNA tests on the victims will try to determine whether al-Zawahiri, or any other al-Qaeda officials, were among the dead. At week's end, however, Pakistani officials were saying al-Zawahiri had not been in the village. An Arabic TV station, quoting sources close to al-Qaeda, said

Saturday he was alive and well. U.S. officials insisted it was too early to conclude that they had missed him.



Detritus from the latest U.S. raid in Pakistan

Villagers staged angry protests, condemning the U.S. for killing civilians. A Pakistani official in Islamabad expressed concern that the demonstrations could spread. The Pakistani gov-

ernment has never had firm control over the borderlands, where many tribes are sympathetic to al-Qaeda and the Taliban and see President Pervez Musharraf as a traitor for cooperating with the U.S. Musharraf is especially sen-

sitive to claims that he allows the U.S. to conduct military operations in Pakistan. U.S. Ambassador Ryan C. Crocker was summoned to the foreign ministry to receive a formal protest. Pakistan's Infor-

mation Minister, Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, announced, "We will not allow such incidents to reoccur." But American officials insist that some of the intelligence that led to the strike had actually been provided by Pakistan's intelligence service.

The CIA strategy of targeting top terrorists with missiles has had some reported successes: last month, a missile took out Abu Hamza Rabia, said to be al-Qaeda's third-ranking leader. But such strikes require highly accurate local intelligence, which is in short supply. "I've seen intelligence reports that have the top al-Qaeda leadership all over a huge geographical area out there," says a senior Pentagon official. A lot of the intelligence, he notes, "comes from people who are deliberately trying to deceive us." —By Aparish Ghosh with reporting by Douglas Waller and Sally B. Donnelly/Washington, Phil Zabriskie and Ghulam Haseen/Islamabad

NO CHANGING HIS STRIPES

WHEN EVO MORALES WAS elected Bolivia's President last month, his Socialist leanings set off alarms in the U.S. But on a tour that took him to nine nations—many led by fellow leftists—before his Jan. 22 inauguration, it wasn't his policies but his alpacawool pullover that had observers seeing red.—By *Jeninne Lee-St. John*

SPAIN After the sweater's global debut at a Jan. 4 meeting with Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, a horrified Spanish columnist asked, "Is there no one who might lend Mr. Morales a dark suit?"



CHINA On Jan. 9 in Beijing, Morales paired the pullover with a leather jacket. He and Chinese President Hu Jintao discussed trade, nationalization of oil and, perhaps, how to pack lightly.



SOUTH AFRICA Of course he wore it in the rainbow nation! It may be summer there, but the sweater for all seasons reappeared on Jan. 11 for a visit with President Thabo Mbeki in Pretoria.

BLOG WATCH

Snooping isn't so secret anymore in China: officials in the city of Shenzhen announced last week that two cartoon cops would soon start to appear on local Web browsers as a reminder that the police are patrolling cyberspace too. Such candor, however, did not play well with Netizens.

PONDBLOG said, "China is trying to make Internet censorship palatable by putting cute faces on its online thought police." JACKARANDA derided the "Great Firewall of China," deeming the cybercops proof that "the Net can be developed and strangled all at once." But a cautious FREECASHSPACE questioned the upside of "life in a lawless frontier, cyber or otherwise."



JON HRUSA—EPA; ADRIAN BRADSHAW—GETTY; BENI GARCIA—AP/GETTY; JON HRUSA—EPA

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY MARK MATCO

NUMBERS

363 Pilgrims killed last week near Mecca in a stampede at the annual *haji*, which drew 2.5 million faithful to Islam's holiest city

2,500 Estimated number of pilgrims on *haji* trampled to death since 1990

7,486 Number of performances of *Phantom of the Opera* through Jan. 9, when it overtook *Cats* as the longest-running show ever on Broadway

80 million People who have seen *Phantom* worldwide since its 1988 premiere



10 million Estimated number of female fetuses aborted in India over the past 20 years by parents hoping for sons

933 Number of females per 1,000 males in India

14 million iPods sold from October to December 2005—triple the number sold in the same quarter of 2004

850 million Songs bought online through Apple's iTunes service since its 2003 launch

Sources: AP; World News Digest; Marketwatch (2); Lancet; www.censusindia.net; Newsday (2)



“Have you noticed that Dick Cheney has been walking around with a cane lately? He said that he really didn’t need the cane. He just liked the idea that a tree had to be cut down to make it.”

—JAY LENO

“The Alito hearings are so dull that that woman in Cincinnati who was dead in front of her TV for two years—she got up and turned them off.”

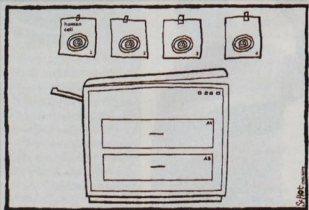
—DAVID LETTERMAN

“The guy who invented LSD celebrates his 100th birthday tomorrow. Yeah, he plans to spend the day surrounded by friends, family and a 9-ft.-tall unicorn.”

—CONAN O'BRIEN

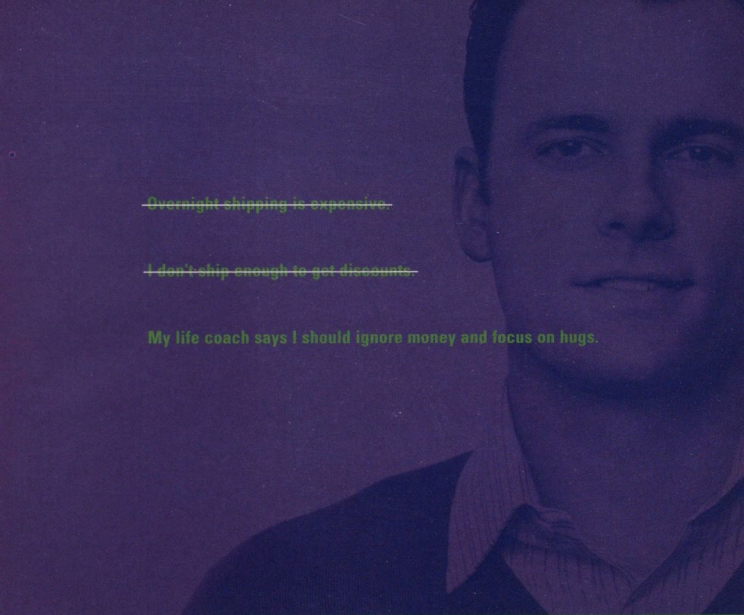
“ESPN COURTS FEMALE VIEWERS WITH WORLD’S EMOTIONALLY STRONGEST MAN COMPETITION.”

—Fake news headline from THE ONION



KOREAN CLONING FOR DUMMIES

For more political humor, visit time.com/cartoons

A close-up, slightly out-of-focus photograph of a man's face, looking directly at the camera. He has short dark hair and is wearing a light-colored collared shirt under a dark sweater. The image is tinted with a dark, muted green color.

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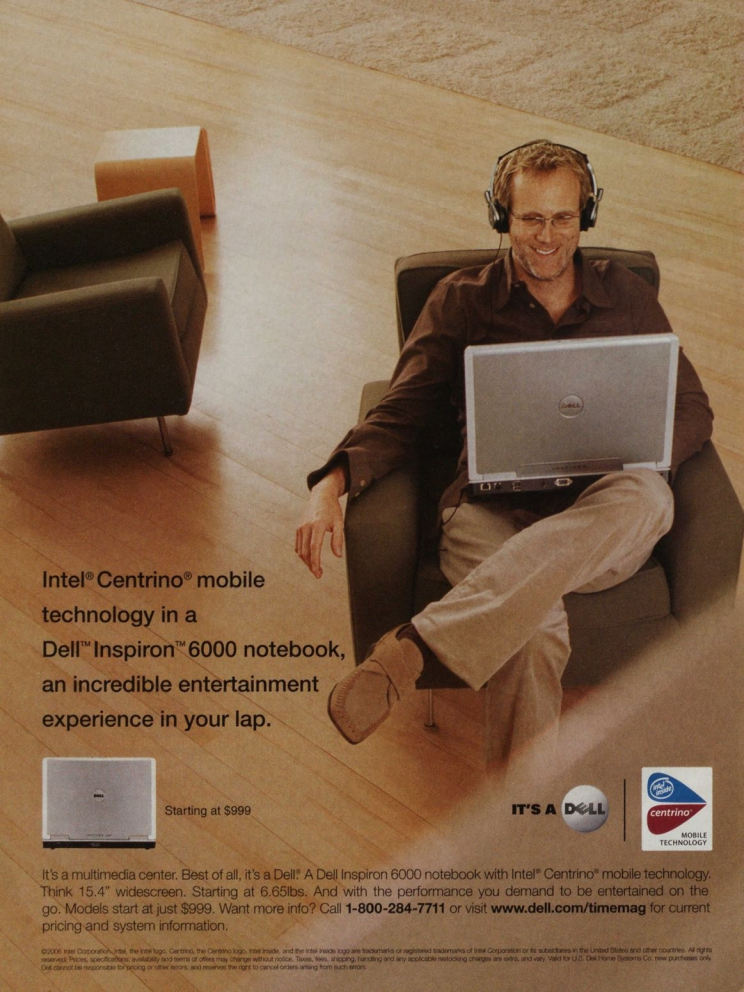
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ANTONIO MARI—OBSERVER/REUTERS/GETTY IMAGES



▲ RELEASED. MEHMET ALI AGCA, 48, Turkish assailant who spent almost 20 years in prison in Italy for shooting and wounding Pope John Paul II in 1981, then served five more in a Turkish jail for the 1979 murder of a journalist; in Istanbul. The Pontiff, who was shot by Agca while riding in an open car through St. Peter's Square in Rome, forgave his would-be assassin and visited him in prison. But after the Turkish press railed at his release, Justice Minister Cemil Cicek ordered a review of whether Agca had been credited correctly for time served. Cicek said Agca was apparently jailed for only 19 years and 1 month in Italy—not 20 full years—and may be required to serve 11 months more.

PLEADED NOT GUILTY. JOSE PADILLA, 35, U.S.

citizen held without charge for more than three years as an enemy combatant suspected of terrorist ties; to new charges—filed after his lawyers were poised to challenge his detention before the Supreme Court—of conspiracy to “murder, kidnap and maim” abroad; in Miami.

DIED. ERIC NAMESNIK, 35, U.S. Olympic swimmer twice ranked No. 1 in the world; of head injuries sustained in a car crash; in Ypsilanti, Mich. The University of Michigan standout won silvers in the 400-m individual medley at the 1992 and '96 Summer Games.

▼ DIED. SHELLEY WINTERS, 85, zaftig, high-decibel star who played some of the movies' most famous victims; in Beverly Hills. Born Shirley Schrift, she had the attributes of a '50s Hollywood dish—latkes, perhaps—and could twist prim dialogue into raunch with her throaty laugh. But the shrillness in a Winters character gave men homicidal urges. She was strangled by Ronald Colman (*A Double Life*) and drowned by Montgomery Clift (*A Place in the Sun*). Robert

Mitchum slit her throat (*The Night of the Hunter*); James Mason drove her to fatal madness (*Lolita*). She won two Oscars, for *The Diary of Anne Frank* and *A Patch of Blue*, and lent her increasing heft to *The Poseidon Adventure*. But her ripest later role was as herself: a tell-all memoirist and rowdy talk-show guest who was still entertaining audiences by exasperating men.



▼ DIED. SIDNEY FRANK, 86, eccentric beverage-marketing guru who in 1997 introduced the “superpremium” Grey Goose vodka—with its frosted bottle, Cézanne-inspired label and \$30-a-bottle price tag—and seven years later sold it to Bacardi for more than \$2 billion; in San Diego. In the 1970s, Frank sensed an unquenched niche in a more rambunctious market—college students—and began importing the near unknown German liqueur Jagermeister, sometimes compared to cough syrup. With the help of a cadre of pretty “Jagerettes,” who poured free shots in bars, the brand soared in sales from some 500 cases in 1974 to more than 2 million last year.

▼ DIED. BIRGIT NILSSON, 87, international opera star whose rich timbre, dramatic interpretations and unrivaled stamina made her the finest Wagnerian soprano of her generation; on Christmas Day; in her hometown, Vastra Karup, Sweden. Level-headed and sharp-witted, Nilsson thrilled audiences from New York to Milan in operas by Verdi (*Aida*), Strauss (*Elektra*, below) and Puccini (*Turandot*) but won her most enthusiastic fans with dynamic lead performances in such Wagner works as *The Ring of the Nibelung* and *Tristan and Isolde*. Asked to name the primary requirement for playing Isolde, a punishing role she sang some 200 times, she said, “Comfortable shoes.”



14 YEARS AGO IN TIME

DNA testing—which last week confirmed the guilt of **ROGER KEITH COLEMAN**, executed in Virginia in 1992 for the murder of his sister-in-law—did not exist at the time of his 1982 trial.



The case against Coleman is built solely on circumstantial evidence... The prosecution's case rested on three pieces. A forensic test demonstrated that one of two types of sperm found on the victim—the other sperm, the prosecution argued, was that of her husband—belonged to someone who was a blood type B secretor, meaning that the blood type can be determined by samples of any bodily fluid. Coleman matched the description—but since roughly 10% of Grundy's population has type B blood, it is likely that others in the town fit the bill. The prosecution also produced brown hairs the same color as Coleman's, lifted from Wanda's red public hair... A jailbird snitch testified that while sharing a cell with Coleman before the trial, Coleman stated that he and another man raped Wanda, then the other man killed her.

—TIME, May 18, 1992

Read the entire article at time.com/years

The Republicans hope Tom DeLay's successor will repair their reputation, but the stink of the lobbying scandal clings hard to the G.O.P.

CAN THIS ELEPHANT BE CLEANED UP?



By MIKE ALLEN and PERRY BACON JR.

THE SPREADSHEET, BRISTLING WITH MILLION-DOLLAR TOTALS, jumped from flat screen to flat screen last winter in the Washington underground of fund-raising consultants and political-action committees. It had been created by allies of Congressman John Boehner, an Ohio Republican known for massive, raucous late-night parties. A window into the science of the shakedown, the spreadsheet calculated the "efficiency" of fund-raising committees headed by various leaders of the House, showing which were most generous to other Republicans. Boehner's backers were thrilled when the widely forwarded spreadsheet produced a front-page headline in *The Hill*, a newspaper focused on Congress, saying BOEHNER BOASTS OF BIG BUCKS. Eight months later, his team smiled again when the paper ran a list of Boehner's "K Street Cabinet," loyal lobbyists and other power brokers who would help run the show if he achieved his longtime ambition of becoming House Speaker or majority leader.

With Tom DeLay's machine still in charge of the Capitol, those were the credentials that would get an aspiring lawmaker taken seriously.

MAMMOTH TASK

On the front lines of the scrubdown are House Speaker Dennis Hastert and the top contenders to replace Tom DeLay as majority leader, John Boehner and Roy Blunt

Illustration for TIME
by John Corbitt



QUID PRO QUO?

Jack Abramoff's \$10,000 Question

Lobbyist Jack Abramoff's Oct. 23, 2000, e-mail to his business partner Michael Scanlon was, as usual, not subtle. "Would 10K for NRCC from Suncruz for Ney help?" Scanlon shot back: "Yes, alot [sic]! But would have to give them a definat [sic] answer—and they need it this week..."

That electronic exchange, a record of which was reviewed by TIME, is among the evidence that Republican Congressman

Bob Ney of Ohio accepted favors from Abramoff and Scanlon as part of an alleged quid pro quo—a charge to which the business partners each recently confessed in larger plea deals. While the plea agreements spell out various gifts, campaign donations and junkets that Abramoff and

Scanlon say they provided to Ney in return for "official acts," the e-mails present in one place the specific elements of a swap that Abramoff has told investigators was prearranged and explicitly reciprocal, according to a source close to the Justice Department probe. To wit: a \$10,000 donation to the

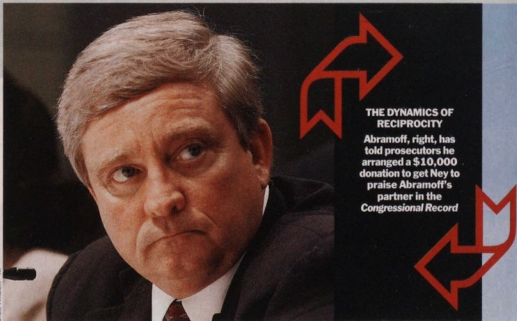
Republicans just days before Ney inserted into the *Congressional Record* a statement praising an Abramoff business partner. Ney's lawyer, Mark Tuohy, calls the accusations "totally false."

Abramoff has told the feds, according to the source, that Ney, the chairman of the powerful Committee on House Administration, and his staff repeatedly demanded help in raising cash for the National Republican Campaign

Now, a few indictments and plea agreements later, the political landscape has shifted mightily, and Boehner is seeking to replace DeLay by running for majority leader as Mr. Clean, an outsider bent on shaking up the system that superlobbyist Jack Abramoff mastered and that then snarled him and, so far, mainly the Republican Party in scandal. "Boehner Outlines Plan for Reform, Renewal and Changing the Status Quo," blared a statement Boehner issued less than 48 hours after DeLay announced he would not seek re-election to the House's No. 2 post. "We're kind of stuck in neutral, and we need to renew ourselves," Boehner told TIME.

But will that renewal be more than cosmetic? DeLay's announcement, marking the rueful surrender of a warrior who once wielded such unquestioned power that no bill could reach the President's desk without his assent, touched off a furious scramble at the Capitol among ambitious members who want a leadership seat when the music stops on Feb. 2, the date set for internal House G.O.P. voting. The election falls two days after President George W. Bush's planned State of the Union address and could do as much to define the Republican Party at the start of the midterm election year as any pronouncement from the White House. "If we don't get our act together," says Representative Ray LaHood of Illinois, "we'll be the minority party next year."

A loss of 15 seats in November would



THE DYNAMICS OF RECIPROCITY

Abramoff, right, has told prosecutors he arranged a \$10,000 donation to get Ney to praise Abramoff's partner in the *Congressional Record*

leave Bush with a Democrat-controlled House for the final quarter of his presidency, which his advisers believe could mean a nightmare of gridlock and investigations into Administration decisions and activities. In perhaps an even worse scenario for Bush's legacy, one of the city's best-connected Republicans said his friends are starting to fearfully consider what he calls the "whole shebang" theory: that the party will hold on to the House this year but just barely, then lose the House, Senate and White House in 2008. Republicans point to that Democrats also accepted money from Abramoff clients and did favors for him, but even those Republicans acknowledge that when the public thinks both sides are dirty, the party in power is likely to pay the higher price.

House Speaker Dennis Hastert of Illinois is pushing for an aggressive, if belated, overhaul of travel and lobbying rules—perhaps so far-reaching that it could be challenged in court as an abridgment of free speech, according to House G.O.P. strategists. In what may be the clearest sign that Republicans are feeling their political mortality, Hastert aides revealed at week's end that the Speaker is pushing Congressman Bob Ney of Ohio to resign from his post as chairman of the Committee on House Administration, which dispenses everything from sofas to BlackBerry's and will handle part of the lobbying-reform package. Ney, identified as "Representative A" in Abramoff's indictment, is accused of exchanging "official acts" for gifts and contributions from the lobbyist (see box), and Republican

“If we don't get our act together, we'll be

Committee—the “NRCC” of Abramoff’s e-mail. Under then House majority leader Tom DeLay, Ney and his fellow G.O.P. chairmen had to meet steep fund-raising quotas or risk losing their plum positions.

On Oct. 20, 2000, the e-mail records show, Scanlon sent Abramoff Scanlon’s draft of a statement praising Adam Kidan, a co-owner of SunCruz Casinos, a Florida gambling-boat company that Abramoff and Kidan had bought the

month before, after a public dispute with the previous owner. Abramoff and Kidan, who have since pleaded guilty in Florida to fraud in connection with their financing of the SunCruz purchase, hoped that Ney’s positive statement would “let people know that SunCruz now was in honest hands,” according to a source familiar with the case. In an Oct. 23 e-mail, Abramoff proposed throwing \$10,000 at the NRCC in the form of a SunCruz check signed

by Kidan. The money was sent within days, and Ney got credit within the G.O.P. for raising it. Ney then inserted praise for Kidan into the Oct. 26 *Congressional Record*.

Tuohey denies that Ney was under pressure to raise funds and says his client had no contact with Abramoff or Scanlon regarding SunCruz. “There was a check to NRCC by SunCruz, and Ney knew nothing about it,” Tuohey says.

As the Abramoff scandal has unfolded, alarm has spread on Capitol Hill that Justice Department prosecutors are building corruption cases on legally reported campaign donations—

a worry that revelations of the alleged Ney quid pro quo are sure to fuel. Although refusing to comment on the specifics of the Ney case, a U.S. government expert on criminal law made the following point: “Contributions are lawful only if made in support of a lawmaker’s policies. They are clearly illegal as part of a prenegotiated deal involving a quid pro quo.” For a host of nervous politicians familiar with the murky ways of Washington, that fine a distinction is probably small comfort. —By Adam Zagorin and Massimo Calabresi. With reporting by Melissa August/Washington

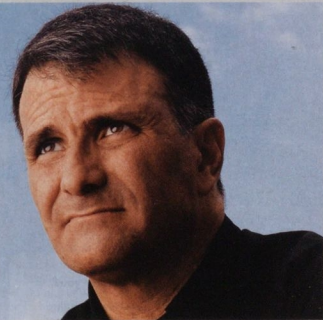


PHOTO: BOB AGOSTA/NYU/REUTERS

leaders said they would not be surprised if he was indicted.

Boehner is challenging Congressman Roy Blunt of Missouri, a maestro of the K Street lobbying community who holds the No. 3 spot in the House, majority whip. Blunt, the son of a state legislator and father of the Show-Me State’s Governor, Matt Blunt, has been acting in the No. 2 job since DeLay temporarily left the post after his indictment in September in a Texas political money-laundering case. If Blunt is chosen to stay on, Republicans will pick a new whip on Feb. 2 as well. Blunt said over the weekend that he had commitments from more than the 117 House members needed to win. Counts in leadership races are notoriously squishy, though, because the ballot is secret and many of the prom-

ises are made over the phone.

The battle between Boehner and Blunt got ugly quickly. Blunt allies called Boehner a “joy boy” more concerned about partying than about the party. Boehner allies distributed a Rube Goldberg-like diagram, intentionally drawn to resemble opponents’ depiction of Hillary Rodham Clinton’s failed health-care plan, headlined REP.

ROY BLUNT’S EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF JACK ABRAMOFF AND HIS INDIAN GAMING CLIENTS.

As backers of the two bickered, a variety of key Republicans began to fret that outraged voters would punish the party if it simply reshuffled a few chairs after being confronted by federal prosecutors with evidence of excess that is adding up to a historic scandal. “A bad political environment could turn into something tsunami size,” said a Republican official close to the White House. That worry inspired the entry late last week of a dark-horse candidate for DeLay’s job, John Shadegg of Arizona, who stuffed envelopes when his father managed Barry Goldwater’s 1952 Senate campaign. “We need a clean break from the scandals of the past,” Shadegg said in

his announcement. Within hours, he was endorsed by such key conservative voices as the organization Club for Growth and the publications *Human Events* and *National Review*.

House leaders, eager to burnish their image and expecting more ethics horror stories to emerge, are working with Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona on proposals to reform lobbying (see box). There is talk of lowering the limit, now \$50, on the value of a single gift that a lobbyist can give a lawmaker or aide, provoking jokes about a \$49.50 party to cash in before any change takes effect. Hastert is considering supporting a ban on junkets for members and aides that are financed by outside groups and restricting travel to government-paid trips. An aide involved in the negotiations, skeptical that any meaningful change will result, calls the proposals “a Band-Aid on a gunshot wound.”

Congressional Democrats plan to launch a major attack on Republican ethics this week, with party leaders assembling 100 Democrats from the House and Senate, along with Democratic mayors and Governors, at the Library of Congress to unveil reform legislation intended to set the tone for the election year. The plan calls for a prohibition on gifts, including meals, entertainment and travel, from lobbyists and special interests. Democrats also say they would shut down what they call “pay-to-play schemes,” such as DeLay’s “K Street Project,” which encourages companies and lobbying firms to hire Republicans to improve their access to lawmakers. Even Boehner said in a statement last

the minority party next year.”

—CONGRESSMAN RAY LAHOOD OF ILLINOIS

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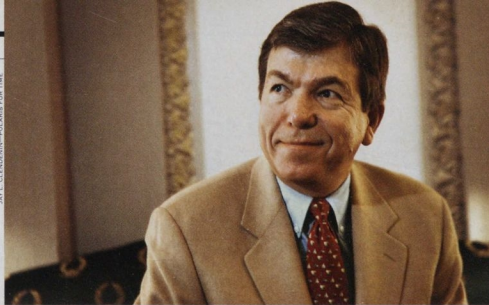
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week, "If I am elected majority leader, there will no longer be a K Street Project or anything like it."

The House Republicans at the same time are eager to get out a message that could be summed up as "We don't know Jack." Members are rushing to disavow any connection to Abramoff or stressing to reporters how little they knew him, and donating money he gave them to charity. When Hastert announced his plans for lobbying reform, Boehner initially suggested that no new rules were needed but quickly reversed course as members of Congress emphasized that he would have to support the reforms to get their votes in the leadership race. Both Boehner and Blunt are getting lots of questions from members about their exact connections to Abramoff and other lobbyists, underscoring that they don't want to be embarrassed by their new leader having a legal or ethical problem.

Trying to get the vote of one member, Blunt said, "I like to go golfing, but I pay for it myself every single time," a reference to Abramoff-orchestrated trips DeLay and other lawmakers have taken that have landed them in trouble. Boehner has done the same. "I told John I had two questions," says LaHood, who is backing Boehner. "Are there going to be any Abramoff scandals or corruption? He told me he had never met Abramoff. And then second, Would Boehner support lobbying and ethics reform? And he said, 'Absolutely.'"

But Boehner is no babe in the woods. He was one of Newt Gingrich's closest allies in bringing Republicans to power in 1994. When they took control of the House in 1995 after 40 years of Democratic rule, Boehner, as the House conference chairman, the No. 4 leadership position, was put in charge of building coalitions with business groups. He ran a meeting every Thursday of more than a dozen top business lobbyists in Washington. The relationship was mutually beneficial: House Republicans pushed through pro-business legislation, while the business groups provided campaign cash and grass-roots support to get bills passed. Boehner, who was part of the so-called Gang of Seven that had attacked Democrats for overdrafts from the House bank in the early 1990s, quickly became less known for his reform actions than for his closeness to lobbyists. He famously handed out campaign donations in the form of checks from tobacco lobbyists to members on the floor of the House in 1995. He now says it was a mistake he regrets. Boehner is best known for



JAY L. CLANCY/NOW-APRIL 10, 2006



JAY L. CLANCY/NOW-APRIL 10, 2006

IMPERFECT CONTENDERS

Boehner, left, once handed out checks from tobacco lobbyists to members on the House floor; Blunt, above, is a maestro of the lobbying community; Arizona's Shadegg isn't as linked to K Street as the others but doesn't have their clout either



JOHANNES THIEL/REUTERS

leading the House push on No Child Left Behind, the program championed by Bush that makes public schools accountable for student performance.

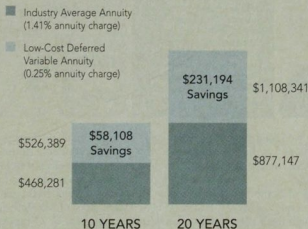
Blunt, former president of Southwest Baptist University, a small school in Missouri, has risen quickly through the leadership ranks since he entered the House in 1997. His close alliance with DeLay helped his ascent, though their relations have frayed in recent years as Blunt started to establish his own power base. As a House leader, he signed a letter, at the request of another member, opposing the construction of a casino in Louisiana that might have competed with a pair of casinos run by two Indian tribes represented by Abramoff. But the lobbyist favor that continues to dog Blunt is much closer to home. In the fall of 2002, Blunt infuriated House Republicans by trying to insert into a Homeland Security bill a provision that would have increased penalties on the sale of stolen cigarettes. The provision was strongly backed by Philip Morris, and Blunt was at the time dating Abigail Perlman, now his wife, who is a lobbyist for Altria, the parent company of Philip Morris. A Blunt aide denied that the Congressman was working at the direction of lobbyists.

Shadegg has the strongest reform credentials of the three contenders. He entered Congress in the famous class of 1994, which campaigned on a pledge to reform Washington after years of Democratic rule. He once headed the caucus of the House's most conservative members of Congress and often angered Republican congressional leaders by opposing bills that included pork-barrel projects that would increase the deficit.

Shadegg is not linked to lobbyists as much as the other two candidates, but he lacks the depth of support among colleagues that Blunt and Boehner established long before this race started. In the system that House Republicans have set up, members of Congress rise to leadership positions in part because of their ability to raise campaign cash. Aspiring leaders, who are often so popular in their own districts that they don't even have opponents, still raise millions of dollars so that they can give the money to others in tough races. They often raise this money through fund raisers organized by major business groups, and many of the donors are lobbyists. The result is that it is difficult to find a member of Congress with the clout and experience to be majority leader who doesn't have ex-

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tensive lobbying ties, as do Blunt and Boehner.

One symptom of lobbying run amuck is the proliferation of earmarks—spending placed in legislation, often without public review, for specific projects. “Beating up on lobbyists is easy to do, but we have to put our own house in order, and at the top of that list is earmark reform,” says Republican Congressman Jeff Flake of Arizona. The most famous recent earmark was last fall’s so-called Bridge to Nowhere—a provision that Representatives from Alaska inserted into a bill to spend close to \$223 million to make it easier to reach a virtually uninhabited area of the state. In the end, the money was cut from the budget in light of public outrage. Lobbyists are paid to land earmarks; Abramoff used them to get money for his tribal clients. The number of those earmarks mushroomed from close to 2,000 in a highway bill in 1998 to more than 6,000 in that bill last year. Practitioners say the boom is a major factor in the doubling of the number of lobbyists in Washington over the past five years, to almost 35,000, and Bush points to the popular practice as one of the reasons curtailing federal spending is so difficult.

All three candidates have suggested that they would support earmark limits, a favorite McCain cause. One Boehner has been specific about what he would change, saying he would try to prevent federal dollars from going to private entities for exclusively private purposes. This still wouldn’t stop wasteful spending on unneeded bridges and other projects. But one plan would identify the sponsors of earmarks and force members to defend them, eliminating the many mysterious entries that now bristle in the budget. Blunt defends earmarks but has proposed tracking those who request them and how the money is spent. Boehner and Shadegg both say they have never had an earmark directed to their congressional district.

However inviting that pork may be as a rhetorical target, though, earmarks give House members a chance to direct money to particular interests, and it’s unlikely that they will want to give up that power. So in the warrens of the Capitol, Republicans debate how they can project change while keeping things much the same. The big totals on future spreadsheets depend on it. —*With reporting by Melissa August, Massimo Calabresi and Michael Duffy/Washington*

REFORM

6

Ways to Fix K Street

No fewer than six lobbying-reform proposals were floating around Congress late last week, and leaders of both parties were promising that one, or perhaps elements of all, would pass before Groundhog Day. TIME surveyed the latest proposals and the lawmakers behind them to handicap the probable outcome.

SKYBOX: This arena perch was Abramoff's aerie



1 Ban lobbyist-paid travel. Until the scandal broke, it was fine for your Representative to take an all-expenses-paid trip to Pago Pago on behalf of the Alaskan Coconut Packing Council and do virtually no work upon arrival. Lobbyists proposed, arranged and paid for those trips—then went along to chalk up quality time. Now, under almost every proposal, Republican and Democrat, the junkets would be history. Chance of passage: 99%. Likely work-around: lawmakers will try to carve out an exemption for “educational” trips sponsored by policy groups and friendly foreign countries.

2 Slow the revolving door. Former members of Congress and their aides must wait a year after leaving their posts before lobbying former colleagues. Lawmakers want to double the waiting time to two years. Chance of passage: 90%. Less likely: extending the ban to five years. Meaningless extra: the House will probably pat itself on the back for barring former members turned lobbyists from exercising their right to return to the House floor or mingle in the House gym—a step that sounds tough but isn’t. Said a G.O.P. lawmaker: “By the time we get to the floor, we already know how the vote is going to turn out.”

3 Ensure more transparency. Under this plan, lobbyists would have to disclose every dollar they spend on lawmakers. The limit on the value of a gift that aides and lawmakers would be allowed to accept would be lowered from \$50 to perhaps \$20. Chance of passage: 90%. Many, like Wisconsin Senator Russ Feingold, think gifts should be banned outright. “All the T shirts, golf caps and cheap luggage I’ve been given aren’t even worth having,” said a lawmaker. “None of these are gifts worth having.”

4 Reform airfare rules. Lawmakers who really rate with lobbyists can often get a lift on a corporate jet and pay only first-class fare for the courtesy—a savings of time and thousands of dollars. Bills offered by both Feingold and Arizona Senator John McCain would require charter flights to be reimbursed at full market value, making them prohibitive. Chance of passage: 50%.

5 Ban earmarks. The once rare but now common practice of earmarking specific amounts of money for individual pork projects in hard-to-stop conference reports has given rise to a new class of lobbyist that specializes in the no-fingerprints line items. John Boehner, the Ohioan who wants to be House majority leader, backs this change, but so far it faces long odds. Chance of passage: 35%.

6 Ban fund raising while Congress is in session. Instead of dropping by two fund raisers a night in Washington, lobbyists would have to wait until recesses, making it harder to convert last night’s donation into tomorrow’s amendment. By lightening schedules, a ban would improve lawmakers’ lives but flatten the capital’s vast catering and events economy. Still, quipped a Midwestern lawmaker, “it would be the best airline bailout we could ever pass,” since more fund raisers would take place out of town. Chance of passage: 10%. —*By Michael Duffy*

NO WAY HOME

Rodney Berryhill,
19, holds his nephew
Donnie, 1, in front of the
ruins of what was once
Rodney's house in New
Orleans' Ninth Ward



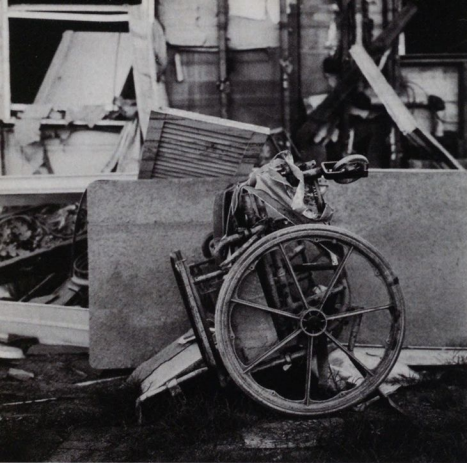
AFTER THE FLOOD

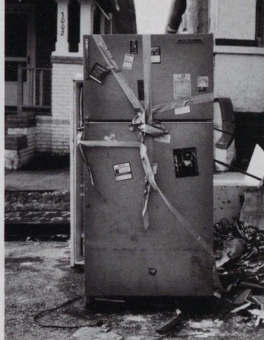
WHOSE RECOVERY IS IT?

Mardi Gras is approaching, but so much of New Orleans still suffers. As residents debate the future, this much is clear: the city will have fewer people. How happy they will be is another question

Photographs for *TIME* by Anthony Suau







HELP WANTED

The flooding is gone, but many neighborhoods in and around New Orleans look as ravaged as they did just after the waters receded. Clockwise from top left: a mildewed wheelchair amid the rubble of a nursing home; a damaged house awaiting repair; a refrigerator that still hasn't made it to a Dumpster; a debris-strewn lot for sale; a house that was swept off its foundation and dropped right in the middle of the street



NATION

By CATHY BOOTH THOMAS

THE PRESIDENT'S HANDLERS STEERED him away from hard-hit areas in New Orleans, just as they had during his previous visits to the stricken city. So George W. Bush last week proclaimed himself pleased with the city's progress after his motorcade drove past the largely undamaged 19th century mansions of St. Charles Street. His friends and fund raisers in town insist that the President "gets it," as shipyard owner Boysie Bollinger says. They have kept up the heat on the White House by hammering home the theme that Katrina didn't doom the city; poor levee construction by the Federal Government did. Still, although Bush repeated his promise to help rebuild New Orleans, he didn't specifically promise levees that could withstand Category 5 storms or help on a bill to buy out flooded homes.

On paper for now, a new New Orleans is taking shape. Some of its canals would be filled in to serve as parks. The red-light district once known as Storyville would be revived as a jazz center near the French Quarter. There would be charter schools instead of slum schools, a streamlined city government and, most important, rebuilt levees. But that "audacious" action plan laid out last week by Mayor Ray Nagin's 17-member Bring New Orleans Back Commission has met with a storm of controversy, not just from residents of the poor Ninth Ward but also from wealthier and whiter areas like Lakeview. Homeowners are infuriated by a recommendation to halt rebuilding—indeed, to stop issuing permits—for four months, until May 20, in the worst-hit neighborhoods. Joe Canizaro, the millionaire developer in charge of the urban-planning effort, believes the delay will prevent a scattershot revival. The argument goes that, with nearly half the city's pre-Katrina population not expected to return, if people rebuild in largely abandoned areas, they couldn't expect much in the way of services from a cash-strapped city.

That argument doesn't cut it with folks like Freddy Yoder, who is determined to rebuild his house with or without government help. "Gimme a break," the Lakeview resident growled at the commission's presentation. "We don't need a rail system. We're in the mud. If you can't give us direction, get the hell out of our way." The most troubling aspect for homeowners: the threatened use of eminent domain to clear the most heavily damaged areas for developers. "I'm going to fight—whatever it takes," warned Harvey Bender of the Ninth Ward. "It's going to be baby Iraq for Joe Canizaro." ■



SEARCH PARTY

Lawrence and Hilda Gilbert wear protective gear while looking for items to salvage inside their wrecked home in the Lower Ninth Ward



ISRAEL'S QUIET CRISIS

BY JOE KLEIN/JERUSALEM

Nothing much happened here in Israel last week, which was something of a surprise to most Israelis, who were expecting big, dramatic, perhaps cataclysmic developments after Prime Minister Ariel Sharon was incapacitated by a massive stroke. Sharon, ever stubborn, lived

on, breathing a little, responding reflexively to pokes and proddings from his physicians—and so there was no state funeral, no national emotional catharsis, no clear transfer of power. But more important, there was no political confusion or panic. Leadership was quietly assumed by Sharon's deputy, Ehud Olmert. "Here we are in the midst of a revolution in Israeli politics," Avi Dichter, former director of Shin Bet, Israel's domestic security agency, told me. "Our great national leader is crippled—and there is no crisis. Power is passed quietly. Our enemies don't stir. Our stock market barely moves. It says a lot for the strength of our democracy."

Olmert's elegant and noiseless assumption of power last week was a singularly un-Israeli sort of act: a dog that didn't bark in a prohibitively raucous canine nation. His public gestures were tasteful. He refused to sit in Sharon's seat at the first Cabinet meeting or use Sharon's office. He gave no interviews, a real departure for a

politician who had served as the Prime Minister's talk-radio pit bull. He traded his famously dreadful orange ties for blue and black stripes. He was not seen smoking one of his beloved cigars. He looked very much the leader.

Privately, Olmert, 60, has acted with dispatch to unite Kadima, the centrist party that Sharon created last year. Shimon Peres, the former Labor Prime Minister whose jump to Kadima had given it credibility, made some tiny noises about taking over but soon accepted the reality of his advanced age (he is 82) and anachronistic left-wing politics and fell into line behind Olmert. The other Kadima heavyweights followed. Minister of Justice Tzipi Livni, 47, a rising star with the highest poll ratings of any politician in Israel, immediately announced her support for Olmert, even though the two had been rivals for Sharon's favor. "I called [Olmert] that first night," Livni told me, "and said, 'Listen, we're now going to work together. You have my com-

plete support.' I've spoken with him every day since." Olmert apparently told Livni she would become Foreign Minister, as Sharon had promised her, and Deputy Prime Minister in the new Kadima government. One week after Sharon's incapacitation, Olmert had answered the most important question in Israeli public life: Would Kadima fall apart without his leadership? It held together, for the moment, and Olmert has passed his first major political test. But there will be far more difficult tests to come.

"Kadima has filled a vacuum," said Dan Meridor, a prominent former member of the conservative Likud Party who is now drifting toward the new party. "We had two beautiful visions of the future—one from the left and one from the right—and both collapsed." The left-wing Labor Party's vision, of negotiating a two-state settlement with the Palestinians, was rendered irrelevant by the failure of successive 1990s peace negotiations. Meanwhile, the vision of the old Likudniks—of a Greater Israel, stretching from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River—has been rendered just as untenable by the rapid growth of the Arab population in the Palestinian territories, which would eventually make Israel an apartheid state, with a Jewish minority ruling over an Arab majority. Sharon and Olmert accepted that reality before most others on the right did. "We cannot have Israel without a Jewish majority," Olmert said in 2004, explaining the rationale for Sharon's disengagement policy in Gaza, which Olmert clearly hoped would be "the



The handover of power has been smooth, but disarray in the Palestinian territories will create new problems for Ariel Sharon's successor

first step," followed by a West Bank withdrawal to the borders marked by the controversial security fence that Israel is now building.

Sharon's policy was arrogant, perverse—brilliant. It shattered the old Middle East paradigm, leaping past the old negotiate-or-not logjam. It allowed for a Palestinian state, but absent a reliable negotiating partner, Israel would decide what that state would look like. Suddenly Sharon had positioned himself to the left, and also to the right, of the traditional Israeli parties. "It was a perfect reflection of the country's mood," says David Makovsky of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "After 40 years of occupying the territories, people are sick and tired of it. They don't want to have anything to do with Palestinians. They were going to give Sharon a big victory in the [March 28] elections. If he plays his cards right, Olmert may win a smaller but still significant victory, too, because unilateral disengagement is what the public wants."

But Olmert doesn't hold all the cards. The Palestinians, as ever, have the ability to influence the Israeli election through the use of violence—and through their own elections, scheduled for Jan. 25, which may increase the power of the radical Islamist group Hamas. Likud, led by the unloved but undeterred Benjamin Netanyahu, 56, has been the beneficiary of Palestinian

mayhem in the past. In 1996, for example, Netanyahu overtook Shimon Peres in the race for Prime Minister after a series of terrorist acts by Hamas. "Bibi rises and falls with Hamas," Makovsky said.

And Hamas clearly seems to be rising. The conventional wisdom is that Hamas will finish a strong second to Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas' ruling Fatah party in the election. But Fatah seems in complete disarray, unhinged by corruption and incompetence. Its factions

appear to be literally at war with one another. "It's Somalia in Gaza," a prominent Palestinian security official told TIME's Jamil Hamad. "There's a different government on every street corner." The official says he sent Abbas a memo last week begging him to call off the elections for fear of violence so severe that "there will be no wounded people this time, only dead people." Palestinian sources also told TIME that Abbas was worried about his fate in the elections and exploded at a meeting of top aides last week, saying, "Where is my campaign? I need a campaign."

Already Likudniks are saying disengagement in Gaza has caused the chaos and will weaken Israel's security. "We hear reports of an al-Qaeda presence in Gaza now and about high-powered explosives being smuggled in through Egypt," a leading Likud security expert told me. "The question is, How would Sharon have re-

acted to the deteriorating situation? Would he have moved on and disengaged from the West Bank? I think there is a discussion to be had about what Sharon's real legacy should be."

Olmert will have some disadvantages in that discussion. He served in the army, but not prominently. He has never held a major security portfolio. He will be under pressure to reveal Kadima's plans for disengagement on the West Bank. "But he's not going to put out a map during an election campaign," a member of Olmert's Cabinet told me. "That would be crazy, given the uncertainty on the other side." Indeed, Avi Dichter—who will probably be a leading security spokesman for Kadima—sounded very much like a Likudnik when discussing future plans. "Israel is not going to try any experiments in the West Bank to let it become another Gaza," he said. "If the Palestinian Authority doesn't build an adequate counterterrorist capability, we are going to stay in the West Bank for a long time."

There is another, more personal challenge facing Olmert. He and Netanyahu, along with Dan Meridor and Benjamin Begin, were once called the four princes of Likud—and of them, Olmert was regarded as the least likely to succeed, a smart inside operator but a politician, not a statesman. He will have to perform in the spotlight now, and inside players tend to wilt when shoved onto center stage. Netanyahu has become Israel's Richard Nixon—his negatives are stratospheric, but he is a tough competitor, a plausible Prime Minister. Olmert will have another opponent as well: the memory of Ariel Sharon. Olmert won a quiet battle last week, establishing post-Sharon Kadima as a major force in Israeli politics. But Olmert still must prove that he can make his voice heard when all the usual dogs start howling again. ■

CONTESTED LAND: The rise of Hamas may jeopardize further Israeli withdrawals



Slamming Its Doors

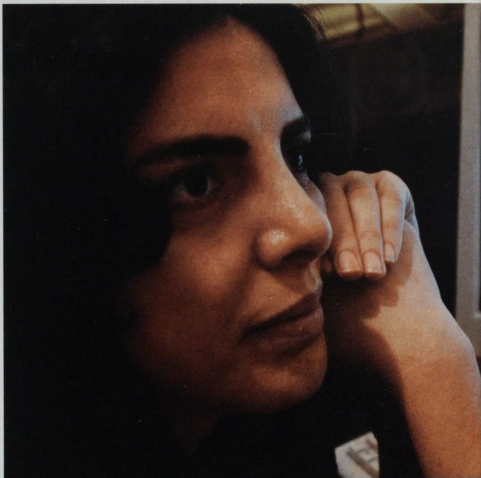
As Iran confronts the West over nukes, its leaders are patrolling the Web to silence critics at home

By **AZADEH MOAVERI** TEHRAN

AS THE EDITOR OF THE IRANIAN Feminist Tribune, a website devoted to women's issues, Parvin Ardalan used to sit at her home computer each night, posting news articles on the site that the country's print press would never carry. She spread the word about sit-ins and seminars. At its busiest, the site attracted 70,000 visitors a day. But late last year, Ardalan received a text message from a friend informing her that the site had disappeared. Along with thousands of other websites—including opposition blogs like *regimechange.blogspot.com* and online retailers like *Bloomingdales.com*—the Feminist Tribune was blocked as part of a censorship campaign by Iran's new hard-line government but is still accessible outside Iran. "We lost one of our greatest tools," Ardalan says. "It's hindered our work, which I suppose was the goal."

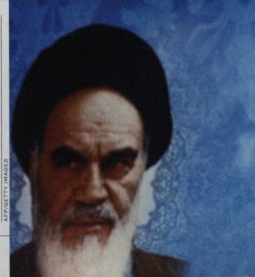
For Western governments as much as for activists like Ardalan, the aims of the Iranian regime grow more alarming every day. Led by President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran's elected government—whose powers are circumscribed by the country's ruling ayatullahs—has made confrontation the guiding tenet of its policies at home and in the world. The regime made its most provocative move yet last week, resuming work on its uranium-enrichment program, which the U.S. and some of its allies believe is a critical step toward the eventual production of nuclear weapons. The resumption touched off a flurry of international condemnation and raised the likelihood that Iran will be referred to the U.N. Security Council. U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice declared that by resuming enrichment activities, Iran has "shattered the basis for negotiation."

What happens next is still up in the air.



“We lost one of our greatest tools. It’s hindered

The Bush Administration is pushing what one official calls a “very carefully calibrated, incremental approach.” The first step would be a Security Council statement urging Iran to comply fully with inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency. If the Iranians refuse, the U.S. would urge the Security Council to issue a legal demand to Iran to suspend enrichment work. If all else fails, the U.S. and its allies are likely to pursue “targeted sanctions” against Tehran, such as restricting the regime’s access to international financial channels and squeezing its ability to trade and travel. But getting agreement on the nature of sanctions—and



on the World

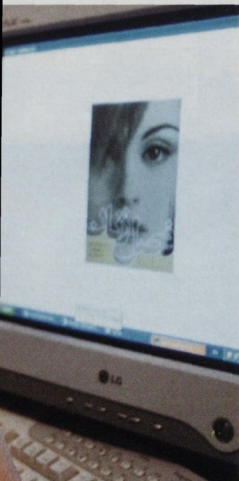


PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS/GETTY IMAGES

avoiding a veto by Russia or China, which both have deep economic interests in Iran—could take months.

To many Iranians, Ahmadinejad's strategy of confrontation and refusal to compromise reflects the regime's unease as much as its pugnacity. At home, the new administration has sought to roll back the moves toward liberalization pursued by former President Mohammed Khatami and is imposing Islamic strictures and cracking down on even nonpolitical forms of expression, like women smoking in cafés and satellite TV. Some Iranians believe that the country's rulers fear further engagement with the West will embolden young people to demand greater freedoms, which may fatally undermine the regime's authority. "They feel danger, and their strategy of dealing with it is by attacking rather than cooperating," says a former senior reformist official.

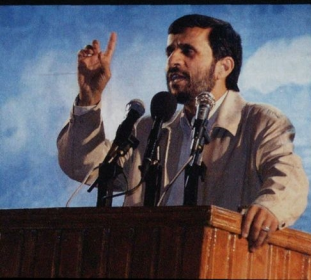
The government's aggressive policing of the Internet reflects how decisively Ahmadinejad has stemmed momentum toward democratic reform. Hard-liners in Iran's judiciary first sought to seal off the Internet in 2004 by arresting Web technicians and bloggers. Since 2004, authorities have rounded up at least 20 writers for posting subversive material online, handing them jail terms ranging from a few days to 14 years. Last June, following Ahmadine-

jad's surprise election, the government launched a fresh onslaught, this time against the websites and blogs themselves. Using keyword filters and censorship software pirated from U.S. firms, the government blocked thousands of websites containing news, political content and satire. It even blocked the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The crude filters make it impossible to look up suggestive words such as *women*, so a Google search on *women's pregnancy* produces an ACCESS DENIED screen. "The end result is a marginalization of women and women's issues," says activist Sussan Tahmasebi.

Activist webmasters and bloggers are trying to navigate around the filters. Many have changed their domain names to get themselves back online for a few days until the censors catch up. Women in Iran, an assertive website carrying news and reports about women's issues, switched from .com to a .org address after being blocked, was filtered again and is now accessible as .net. Activists in Iran now hoard backup domain names, although they have recently hit an unexpected wall: Iranian Web developers say that U.S. domain providers have stopped selling addresses to Iranian Web clients, claiming the sales contravene U.S. economic sanctions against Iran. As a result, some activists are investigating the possibility of running their sites through satellite services, which may allow them to evade the government's reach. Hossein Derakhshan, a prominent Iranian exile blogger who offers a quirky, Jon Stewart-like brew of political commentary, has watched Iranian visitors to his blog plummet from a high of about 8,000 hits a day to a low of about 1,500 a day. He sends out his daily content by e-mail, which for now remains free and, he hopes, secure.

Ahmadinejad's policies have started to cause splits within the country's ruling élite. He faces pressure to moderate his policies from some conservative rivals who are uncomfortable with his more incendiary statements, such as calling for Israel to be "wiped off the map" and openly rooting for the death of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. But so far, even those critics are having difficulty being heard. Last October some prominent conservatives openly bared their criticism of Ahmadinejad on the news website Baztab, which belongs to Mohsen Rezaei, the former commander of the Revolutionary Guards. The government promptly took the site down. —With reporting by Elaine Shannon/Washington

our work, which I suppose was the goal.??



PARVIN ARDALAN

The women's activist shows the home page of the Feminist Tribune, a website blocked by government censors

MAHMOUD AHMADINEJAD

Iran's President delivers a speech in southern Iran last week, flanked by a portrait of his political idol Ayatullah Khomeini



FRONT RUNNER: Harper and wife Lauren at a Toronto pub

PHOTO: GREGG DEGUIRE

LETTER FROM CANADA

Steven Frank/Toronto

Who Are You Calling A Bush Lover?

A conservative is poised to lead liberal Canada. How did he get this far?

THE TV AD BEGINS WITH A blurred image set to an ominous drumbeat, suggesting that this may be the start of a documentary about, say, serial killers. Slowly the grayness on the screen reveals an unflattering picture of ... Stephen Harper, the leader of the Conservative Party of Canada. "Who paid for Stephen Harper's rise to the head of the party?" a female voice asks. "We do know he's very popular with right-wingers in the U.S. They have money. Maybe they helped?"

There have been times in habitually left-leaning Canada when the suggestion that a politician took money from U.S. conservatives would have

been enough to seal victory for the other guy. So when strategists for the ruling Liberal Party unveiled 12 schlock-horror ads last week, three of which linked Harper to "right-wingers in the U.S." (read: the Bush Administration), they may have thought they had pulled off a political masterstroke. Never mind that the charges are at best misleading. This is election time in Canada, and truth gets as much respect as a mouse cornered by a hungry cat.

Even Prime Minister Paul Martin descended into the muck last week, all but branding his opponent an alien from outer space, or at least Texas. "The farthest of

the U.S. far right—that's what [he] means when he says it's time for a change in Canada," Martin told supporters in Toronto. "Well, let me tell you something ... That's not the kind of change that Canadians want. America is our neighbor. It is not our nation."

But Canada may not be quite what it used to be. Polls indicate that despite the anti-U.S. attacks, Conservatives are likely to be the big winners in the Jan. 23 federal vote. That would make Harper, 46, Canada's first Conservative Prime Minister since 1993.

The Liberals have only themselves to blame for losing the upper hand. For the past two years, they have been dogged by revelations that a federal program was manipulated to create a Liberal-friendly slush fund and kickback scheme in the province of Quebec. A Nov. 1 report by a national commission exonerated Prime Minister Martin, but the scandal has left a lingering stench. "I'm tired of being screwed by the Liberals," says Gerry Gagné, 47, a lifelong

Liberal supporter from Low, Que., in a now common refrain.

During the last federal election, in June 2004, the Liberals successfully painted the Toronto-born Harper as a far-right ideologue out to shred Canada's social fabric. Harper never effectively fought back. But he has since repositioned himself. While he originally supported the Iraq war and promotes such traditional Tory issues as tax cuts and a tougher stance on crime, he is also pushing such centrist initiatives as tax credits for people who buy mass-transit passes. Harper has vowed to revisit the issue of same-sex marriage, which is now legal in Canada, by putting it to a vote in Parliament, but he has promised not to touch abortion rights. And he has worked hard to recast his cold and humorless image, though he admitted during a televised debate last week that "my strengths are not spin or passion."

Harper's shrewd move has been to distance himself from the U.S. After a Dec. 2 Op-Ed piece in the Washington Times said Harper's election would "put a smile on President George W. Bush's face," Harper wrote a letter to the editor pointing out the differences between his policies and those of the Bush Administration. And when the Liberals released the TV spots playing up Harper's supposed love affair with U.S. conservatives, the Tories returned fire, issuing a press release that chided their opponents for resorting to "American-style" campaign tactics. Canada's conservatives have learned how to dance to their own drumbeat. —With reporting by Huguette Young/Low



"Canada may elect the most pro-American leader in the western world."

Harper is pro-Iraq war, anti-Kyoto and socially conservative.

Bush's new best friend is the poster boy for his ideal foreign leader.

A Harper victory will put a smile on George W. Bush's face.

Well, at least someone will be happy, eh?

HELP PREVENT ANOTHER HEART ATTACK.



If you've had a heart attack that reduced how well your heart pumps (known medically as left ventricular dysfunction or LVD), adding a heart medication called COREG to your current treatment could help prevent another one. COREG is FDA approved to increase your chance of survival when taken over time. COREG reduces your heart's workload to help it pump better. Protecting your heart helps protect your life. So ask your doctor if adding COREG is right for you. You can get more information on the web at www.coreg.com or by calling 1-877-350-COREG (1-877-350-2673).

It is important for patients to take their medicine every day as directed by their doctors or health care providers. Patients taking COREG should avoid stopping therapy abruptly. With certain beta-blocking agents, stopping therapy abruptly has led to chest pain and, in some cases, heart attack. If their doctor decides that they should stop taking COREG, their doctor or health care provider may slowly reduce their doses over a period of time before stopping it completely.

Some common side effects associated with COREG include shortness of breath, a slow heartbeat, weight gain, fatigue, hypotension, dizziness or faintness. People taking COREG who have any of these symptoms should call their doctor. Additionally, if patients experience fatigue or dizziness, they should sit or lie down and avoid driving or hazardous tasks. Beta-blockers may mask the symptoms of low blood sugar or alter blood sugar levels. People with diabetes should report any changes in blood sugar levels to their physician. Contact lens wearers may produce fewer tears or have dry eyes. As with any medicine, patients taking COREG should also first tell their doctor what other medications they are taking.

As with any medicine, there are some people who should not take COREG. The people who should not take COREG include those with severe heart failure who are hospitalized in the intensive care unit. Also, people who require certain intravenous medications that help support their circulation (inotropic medications) should not receive COREG. Other people who should not take COREG are those who are prone to asthma or other breathing problems, those with a very slow heartbeat or heart that skips a beat (irregular heartbeat), and those with liver problems. For more information on COREG, visit www.coreg.com.

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GlaxoSmithKline



evaluated for safety in cognitive heart failure in more than 4,500 patients worldwide of whom more than 2,100 participated in placebo-controlled clinical trials. Approximately 60% of the total treated population in placebo-controlled clinical trials received COREG for at least 6 months and 30% received COREG for at least 12 months. In the COMET trial, 1,511 patients with mild-to-moderate heart failure were treated with COREG for up to 5.9 years (mean 4.8 years). Both in US clinical trials in mild-to-moderate heart failure that compared COREG in daily doses up to 100 mg ($n = 765$) to placebo ($n = 373$), and in the COMET trial, there was no difference in mortality between patients treated with COREG in daily doses up to 50 mg ($n = 1,156$) with placebo ($n = 1,133$); discontinuation rates for adverse experiences were similar in carvedilol and placebo patients. In placebo-controlled clinical trials, the only cause of discontinuation $>1\%$, and occurring more often on carvedilol than on placebo was dizziness (1.3% on carvedilol, 0.6% on placebo) in the COPERNICUS trial.

In the COMET trial, 1,511 patients with mild-to-moderate heart failure enrolled in US placebo-controlled clinical trials, and with severe heart failure enrolled in the COPERNICUS trial. Shown are adverse events that occurred more frequently in drug-treated patients than placebo-treated patients with an incidence of $>3\%$ in patients treated with carvedilol regardless of causality. Median study medication exposure was 6.3 months for both carvedilol and placebo patients in the trials of mild-to-moderate heart failure, and 10.4 months in the trial of severe heart failure patients. The adverse event profile of COREG observed in the long-term COMET study was generally similar to that observed in the US Heart Failure Trials.

Table 1. Adverse Events (% Occurrence) Occurring More Frequently with COREG Than With Placebo in Patients With Mild-to-Moderate Heart Failure Enrolled in US Heart Failure Trials or in Patients With Severe Heart Failure in the COPERNICUS Trial (Incidence >3% in Patients Treated with Carvedilol, Regardless of Causality)

	Mild-to-Moderate HF COREG (n = 765)	Placebo (n = 437)	Severe Heart Failure COREG (n = 1,156)	Placebo (n = 1,133)
Body as a Whole				
Asthenia	7	7	11	9
Fatigue	24	22	—	—
Digoxin level increased	5	4	2	1
Edema generalized	5	3	6	5
Edema dependent	4	2	—	—
Cardiovascular				
Bradycardia	9	1	10	3
Hypotension	9	3	14	8
Syncope	3	3	8	5
Angina Pectoris	2	3	6	4
Central Nervous System				
Dizziness	32	19	24	17
Headache	8	7	5	3
Gastrointestinal				
Diarrhea	12	6	5	3
Nausea	9	5	4	3
Vomiting	6	4	1	2
Metabolic				
Hyperglycemia	12	8	5	3
Weight increase	10	7	12	11
BUN increased	6	5	—	—
NPN increased	6	5	—	—
Hypercholesterolemia	4	3	1	1
Edema peripheral	2	1	7	6
Musculoskeletal				
Arthralgia	6	5	1	1
Respiratory				
Cough increased	8	9	5	4
Rales	4	4	4	2
Vision				
Vision abnormal	5	2	—	—

cardiac failure and dyspnea were also reported in these studies, but the rates were equal or greater in patients who received placebo. The following adverse events were reported with a frequency of $\geq 1\%$ but $\leq 3\%$ and more frequently with COREG in either the US placebo-controlled trials in patients with mild-to-moderate heart failure, or in patients with severe heart failure in the CAPRICORN trial.

Incidence $\geq 1\%$ to $\leq 3\%$: Body as a Whole: Allergy, malaise, hypotolemia, fever, leg edema, pain, back pain, chest pain, dizziness, headache, influenza, sinusitis, sinus tachycardia, palpitation, hypertension.

Central and Peripheral Nervous System: Hypesthesia, vertigo, paresthesia.

Gastrointestinal: Melena, periodontitis.

Liver and Biliary System: SGPT increased.

Metabolic and Nutritional: Hypokalemia, hypocalcemia, hypomagnesia, increased alkaline phosphatase, glycosuria, hypervolemia, diabetes mellitus, GGT increased, weight loss, proteinuria, creatinine increased.

Musculoskeletal: Muscle cramps.

Respiratory, Hematologic, and Immunologic: Hematocrit decreased.

Bleeding and Clotting: Hemorrhage.

Psychiatric: Depression.

Reproductive, male: Impotence.

Special Senses: Blurred vision.

Urinary System: Renal insufficiency, albuminuria, hematuria.

Left Ventricular Dysfunction Following Myocardial Infarction: COREG has been evaluated for safety in survivors of an acute myocardial infarction with left ventricular dysfunction in the CAPRICORN trial which involved 369 patients who received COREG or placebo. The incidence of adverse events was similar in both groups. At least 6 months and 53% received COREG for at least 12 months. Patients were treated for an average of 12.9 months and 12.8 months with COREG and placebo, respectively. The most common adverse events reported with COREG in the CAPRICORN trial were consistent with the profile of the drug in the US heart failure trials and the CAPRICORN trial. The only additional adverse events reported in CAPRICORN in $\geq 3\%$ of the patients and more commonly on carvedilol were dyspnea, anemia, and lung congestion. The following adverse events were reported with COREG or placebo more frequently with COREG: flu syndrome, cerebrovascular accident, peripheral vascular disorder, hypotonia, depression, gastrointestinal pain, arthritis, and gout. The overall rates of discontinuations due to adverse events were similar in both groups of patients. In this database, the only cause of discontinuation $\geq 1\%$, and occurring more often on carvedilol than placebo was hypotension (1.5% on carvedilol, 0.9% on placebo).

Hypertension: COREG has been evaluated in a large hypertension population of 2,173 patients in the US and in 1,000 patients in the international clinical trials. Approximately 36% of the total treated population received COREG for at least 6 months. In general, COREG was well tolerated at doses up to 50 mg daily. Most adverse events reported during COREG therapy were of mild to moderate severity. In US controlled clinical trials directly comparing COREG monotherapy in doses up to 50 mg in 1,142 to placebo ($n = 462$), 4.9% of COREG patients discontinued for adverse events compared to 3.2% of placebo patients. The most common adverse events leading to discontinuation were more common in the carvedilol group for postural hypotension (1% vs 0). The overall incidence of adverse events in US placebo-controlled clinical trials was found to increase with increasing dose of COREG. For individual adverse events these could only be distinguished for dizziness, which increased in frequency from 2% to 5% as total daily dose increased from 6.25 mg to 50 mg. Table 2 shows adverse events in US placebo-controlled clinical trials for hypertension that occurred with an incidence of $\geq 1\%$ in either group of causality, and that were more frequent in drug-treated patients than placebo-treated patients.

Table 2. Adverse Events in US Placebo-Controlled Hypertension Trials Incidence $\geq 1\%$, Regardless of Causality*

	Adverse Reactions	
	COREG (n = 1,142) % occurrence	Placebo (n = 462) % occurrence
Cardiovascular		
Bradycardia	2	—
Postural hypotension	2	—
Peripheral Edema	1	—
Central Nervous System		
Dizziness	6	5
Insomnia	2	1
Gastrointestinal		
Diarrhea	2	1
Hematologic		
Thrombocytopenia	1	—
Metabolic		
Hypertiglyceridemia	1	—

*Shown are events with rate >1% rounded to nearest integer

prospira and fatigue were more reported in these studies, but the rates were equal or greater in patients who received placebo. The following adverse events not described above were reported as possibly or probably related to COREG in worldwide open or controlled trials with COREG in patients with hypertension or congestive heart failure. **Incidence >0.1% to 51% Cardiovascular:** Peripheral ischemia, brachydysrhythmia. **Central and Peripheral Nervous System:** Hypokinesia. **Gastrointestinal:** Abnormalities of taste, decreased salivary secretion, dry mouth, dysphagia, flatulence, constipation. **Failure patterns were discontinued from therapy because of increases in hepatic enzymes.**
Laboratory Abnormalities: **Psychiatric:** Nervousness, sleep disorder, aggravated depression, impaired concentration, abnormal thinking, paranoia, emotional lability. **Respiratory System:** Asthma [see CONTRAINDICATIONS]. **Reproductive:** Male decreased libido. **Skin and Appendages:** Pruritus, alopecia, hair loss, discoloration of palms, nail changes, skin rash, sweating. **Symptoms:** Tremor, Tinnitus. **Urinary System:** Micturition frequency increased. **Skin and Nervous System:** Dizziness, numbness, swelling increased. **Metabolic and Nutritional:** Hypokalemia, hypervitaminosis A. **Hematologic:** Anemia, leukopenia. The following events were reported in ≤0.1% of patients and are potentially important: complete AV block, bundle branch block, myocardial ischemia, cerebrovascular disorder, convulsions, migraine, neuritis, paresis, arrhythmias, reaction, allopia, exfoliative dermatitis, erythema multiforme, hematuria, hemiparesis, hyperkalemia, hypocalcemia, hypoglycemia, increased BUN, decreased HDL, pancytopenia, and atypical lymphocytes. **Laboratory Abnormalities:** Reversible elevations in serum transaminases (ALT or AST) have been observed during treatment with COREG. Rates of transaminase elevations (2- to 3-times the upper limit of normal) observed during controlled clinical trials have generally been similar between patients treated with placebo and those receiving COREG. In clinical trials, no significant differences in serum creatinine have been observed with COREG. In a long-term, placebo-controlled trial in severe heart failure, patients treated with COREG had lower values for hepatic transaminases than patients treated with placebo, possibly because COREG-induced improvements in cardiac function led to less hepatic congestion and/or improved hepatic blood flow. COREG therapy has not been associated with clinically significant changes in serum calcium, phosphorus, magnesium, potassium, sodium, chloride, or blood urea nitrogen concentrations. No clinically significant changes were noted in fasting serum lipids in hypertensive patients; fasting serum cholesterol was not evaluated in the congestive heart failure clinical trial. **Postmarketing Experience:** Reports of aplastic anemia and severe skin reactions (Stevens-Johnson syndrome, toxic epidermal necrolysis, and erythema multiforme) have been rare and received only when carvedilol was administered concomitantly with other medications associated with such reactions. Erythema multiforme and Stevens-Johnson syndrome resolved upon discontinuation of the medication and interstitial pneumonitis have been reported rarely.

DOSE AND ADMINISTRATION: Congestive Heart Failure: DOSAGE MUST BE INDIVIDUALIZED AND CLOSELY MONITORED BY A PHYSICIAN DURING UP-TITRATION. Prior to initiation of COREG, it is recommended that fluid retention be minimized. The recommended starting dose of COREG is 3.125 mg twice daily for two weeks. Patients who tolerate a dose of 3.125 mg twice daily for two weeks may be increased to 6.25 mg twice daily. Patients who do not tolerate at least two weeks. Patients should be maintained on lower doses if higher doses are not tolerated. At maximum dose of 50 mg twice daily has been administered to patients with mild-to-moderate heart failure weighing over 85 kg (187 lbs). Patients should be advised that initiation of treatment and to a lesser extent dose increases may be associated with transient symptoms of dizziness or orthostatic hypotension. Patients should be advised to get up slowly from a sitting or lying position to avoid situations such as driving or hazardous tasks, where symptoms could result in injury. In addition, COREG should be taken with food to slow the rate of absorption. Vasodilatory symptoms often do not require treatment, but it may be useful to separate the time of dosing of COREG from that of the ACE inhibitor or to reduce temporarily the dose of the ACE inhibitor. The dose of COREG should not be decreased if the patient has a low blood pressure. Patients should be advised to report any fluid retention (with or without transient worsening heart failure symptoms) should be treated by an increase in the dose of the diuretics. The dose of COREG should be reduced if patients experience bradycardia (heart rate < 55 beats/minute). Episodes of dizziness or fluid retention during initiation of COREG can generally be managed without discontinuation of treatment.

Left Ventricular Dysfunction Following Myocardial Infarction: DOSAGE MUST BE INDIVIDUALIZED AND MONITORED DURING UP-TITRATION. Treatment with COREG may be started as an inpatient or outpatient and should be started after the patient is hemodynamically stable and fluid retention has been minimized. It is recommended that COREG be initiated at a dose of 3.125 mg twice daily for 3 to 7 days. After 3 to 7 days, the dose may be increased to 6.25 mg twice daily, then again to 12.5 mg twice daily or 25 mg twice daily. A lower starting dose may be used (3.125 mg twice daily and/or, the rate of up-titration may be slowed if clinically indicated i.e., due to low blood pressure or heart rate, or fluid retention). Patients should be maintained on lower doses if higher doses are not tolerated. The recommended dosing regimen need not be altered in patients who received prior treatment with diuretics.

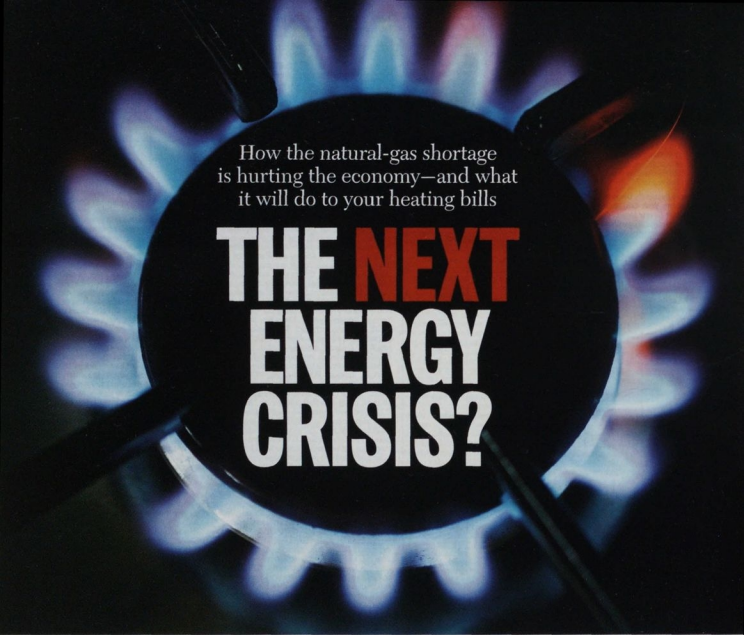
Hypertension: DOSAGE MUST BE INDIVIDUALIZED. The recommended starting dose of COREG is 6.25 mg twice daily. If this dose is tolerated, using standing systolic pressure measured about 1 hour after dosing as a guide, the dose should be maintained for 7 to 14 days, and then increased to 12.5 mg twice daily if needed, based on trough blood pressure, again using standing systolic pressure one hour after dosing as a guide. The dose should be increased to 25 mg twice daily if needed. The full antihypertensive effect of COREG is seen within 7 to 14 days. Total daily dose should not exceed 50 mg. COREG should be taken with food to slow the rate of absorption and reduce the incidence of orthostatic effects. Addition of a diuretic to COREG, or COREG to a diuretic can be expected to produce additive effects and exaggerate the hypotensive effect. Patients should be advised to report any fluid retention. COREG should not be given to patients with severe hepatic impairment (see CONTRAINDICATIONS).

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How the natural-gas shortage
is hurting the economy—and what
it will do to your heating bills

THE NEXT ENERGY CRISIS?

By **DAREN FONDA**

BOB HORTON HAS SURVIVED THE arrival of Home Depot and more economic downturns than he can remember. Yet this winter may be the last for his 40-year-old plumbing and heating supply shop in Osceola, Iowa, just south of Des Moines. The heating bill at his business soared to \$602 last month, up from \$250 a year earlier. He can't raise prices without losing customers, and he has tried everything to save energy, from installing insulation to heating with a high-efficiency furnace. "It's going to break us," he says of his fuel bills. "We can't pay the overhead."

This winter has been no colder than most, but it's leaving businessmen like Horton and homeowners across the

country with a severe chill when they open their heating bills. The 62 million households that burn natural gas will spend 35% more this winter, according to the U.S. Energy Information Administration, with Northeasterners expected to pick up a record \$1,276 average tab for the season. In the past five years, gas-burning homes have seen prices more than double. Those who rely on propane or oil for heat haven't fared a lot better. But the big crunch is in gas. Here's a guide to how that's hitting consumers and businesses, who's profiting and what you can do:

WHY IS MY GAS BILL SO HIGH? Natural gas used to be consumed mainly by firms making chemicals and other industrial goods. But in recent decades, electric companies, under pressure to pollute less, have em-

braced natural gas, which burns cleaner than coal or oil. Gas consumption by electric utilities has soared 76% since 1989. But unlike oil, easily transported and traded on global markets, gas poses logistical problems. It can't be shipped unless it's cooled and liquefied. For now, 85% of the gas we use is produced domestically. The rest arrives by pipeline from Canada, except for about 1% imported from such countries as Trinidad and Nigeria by tankers carrying liquefied natural gas (LNG). That equation is shifting. Production in the U.S. has slipped, down an estimated 5% in 2005, largely but not entirely because of storm damage to facilities in the Gulf. Meanwhile, Canada is consuming more of the gas it produces, leaving less to export. In short, we aren't getting enough gas to meet demand—a combustible formula for high prices.

WHAT'S THE IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY? High energy costs will shave up to half a point off GDP growth in 2006, predicts Stephen Brown, an economist with the Dallas Federal Reserve Bank—"a drag on the economy," he says, but not enough of one to tip us into recession. Still, slower growth means there will be pockets of pain. In Iowa, applications to the state's energy-assistance program are up 8%. Public schools, hit with high heating bills, are turning down the thermostat and spending less on field trips. David Callis, who grows corn, soybeans and wheat in Missouri, has seen the price of fertilizer, which is made in part from gas, rise 50%. Consumers, meanwhile, are paying more for items like paint and plastic containers. Sherwin-Williams recently raised the average price of a gallon of paint from \$22 to \$26. One beneficiary: makers of home insulation, whose business is thriving.

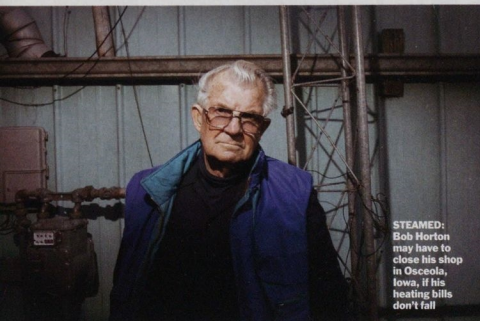
For some companies, the run-up in fuel prices is one more reason to ship jobs

cost difference," he says. "Now we're starting to lose jobs in energy-intensive sectors."

WHY DON'T GAS COMPANIES DRILL MORE WELLS? Oil and gas companies are flush with profits, so they could afford it. Exxon Mobil alone earned nearly \$10 billion in the third quarter, a record for any U.S. firm. But companies seem more inclined to buy one another's assets and invest in proven reserves than go hunting for new sources. ConocoPhillips recently bid \$35.6 billion for Burlington Resources, one of the world's largest natural-gas producers. In the contiguous 48 states, easily accessible fields are running full tilt. "We've had great success finding new reserves, but these are unconventional sources—low-permeability gas sands, shale gas, coal-bed methane," says Peter Dea, CEO of Western Gas Resources, a Denver-based gas producer. Longer term, more supplies are on the way. The U.S. Interior Department last week opened for exploration 389,000 acres of

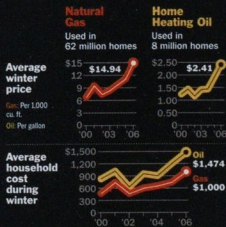
pean countries grew keenly interested after Russia and Ukraine got into a nasty spat over gas supplies a few weeks ago, roiling world gas markets. But there are tall hurdles. The U.S. has just five LNG receiving terminals, and while regulators in the U.S., Canada and Mexico have approved 15 more, the projects are hardly assured. Australian firm BHP Billiton, for one, wants to construct an offshore regasification plant the size of three football fields off the coast of Oxnard, Calif., but opposition is mounting. Activists raise concerns about pollution and potential harm to wildlife from such a large industrial operation. A spokeswoman for BHP says the LNG industry has never had a major spill (although an explosion occurred at an LNG production plant in Algeria in 2004).

WHAT CAN I DO? Energy experts say we could ease out of our gas crunch with realistic conservation efforts. Groups like the American Council for an Energy-



THE PRICE OF WARMTH

About half of U.S. homes are heated by natural gas, and the cost is climbing fast



offshore. In the U.S. chemical industry, where 100,000 jobs have vanished since 2000, companies are building plants overseas, where natural gas goes for a small fraction of the price it commands in the U.S. Dow Chemical is constructing a \$4 billion petrochemical plant in Oman, and CEO Andrew Liveris says the plant would have been built in Freeport, Texas, if not for the price difference. At PPG Industries in Pittsburgh, Pa., CEO Charles Bunch says he may have to close two North Carolina fiber-glass plants. "We've lost a lot of jobs to China because of the labor-

Alaskan tundra and shoreline, which officials estimate may contain 3.5 trillion cu. ft. of natural gas. Yet that's a pittance compared with the 22.3 trillion cu. ft. that the U.S. consumed in 2004. And two projects to transport gas from Alaska's North Slope and Canadian territories are in the works. One proposal entails building a \$20 billion pipeline to Chicago, but that would take 10 years to complete.

WHAT ABOUT IMPORTING MORE LIQUEFIED NATURAL GAS? Energy companies would love to ramp up the trade in LNG, and Euro-

Efficient Economy say we could cut natural-gas prices 20% in the next five years if the U.S. would, for instance, mandate efficiency targets for power plants and offer more financial incentives for renewable fuels like wind and solar. Even some industrial bosses are calling for more conservation to keep the economy humming. Says Liveris: "It's a shame the U.S. hasn't put in place these policies." As Americans are discovering, it's also costly. —*With reporting by Eric Ferkenhoff/Chicago, Wendy Grossman/Houston, Matt Kettmann/Santa Barbara and Betsy Rubiner/Des Moines*



2006 OLYMPICS

REBEL ON THE EDGE

**BODE MILLER, SKIING'S WILD CHILD, IS WILLFUL, THOUGHTFUL AND
THE MOST EXCITING SHOW ON SNOW BY BILL SAPORITO**

IN EUROPE, WHERE HE IS A CELEBRITY, BODE MILLER HAS stood at the top of slalom runs and listened to 50,000 Austrians chanting "*Bo-de, Bo-de.*" They know that his eccentric skiing style—butt back, feet forward, hands flying—and utter disregard for actually finishing a race, never mind winning it, will often produce compelling sport. In the combined downhill in the 2002 Salt Lake City Olympics, Miller was a nanosecond from disaster when he made what might have been the greatest 60 m.p.h. recovery in the history of skiing to claim a silver medal. He either lands on the podium or on his posterior.

He is the world's best ski racer, but whatever the result, he laughs it off and maybe has a beer afterward. Or two. In a world where winners get endorsements and losers work for the ski patrol, Miller actually believes in that old Olympic canard that it's playing the game that counts. "Despite all the

ICONOCLAST

A true student of his sport, Miller has done it his way, defying convention to become the best. He could win an unprecedented five medals in Torino

Photograph for TIME
by Gregory Heisler





2006 OLYMPICS

pressure and the caliber of accomplishment, I still can honestly say it is not all about winning," he told *TIME* during pre-Olympic training at Colorado's Copper Mountain. The important thing to him is to try to ski well—to improve, to reach his own goals—and most important, to have a good time.

Last week it was his mouth that went off course—blew out of its bindings—after Miller admitted on *60 Minutes* to skiing a race hung over. He was "wasted," as he put it, after securing the overall World Cup title the day before. In its promos for the show, CBS said he skied drunk, which Miller denies. But he has never been the least bit shy about his après-ski technique. "There's been times I've been in really tough shape at the top of the course," he told *60 Minutes*. The statement was typical of Miller's quirky, uncensored self, but it quickly snowballed into a crisis. With controversies about sexual harassment, citizenship and team selection already dogging Olympic athletes in skeleton and figure skating, U.S. Ski and Snowboard Association (USSA) officials hurried to Miller's next race venue in Wengen, Switzerland, reprimand in hand. In apology, Miller said, "The message that came through is not what I'm about in any way in my sporting career."

Say hello to skiing's wild child, a mountain prodigy who grew up plumbing-free, electricity-free and constraint-free in a house hand-built by his parents in a forest near Franconia, N.H. As a kid, Miller spent as many winter hours skiing at nearby Cannon Mountain as he did in the classroom. In his teens, he was all but dismissed as being uncoachable. But, last year his World Cup triumph was the first by an American in 22 years. His prowess is such that he could win a medal in any of five Alpine skiing events at the Olympic Games in Torino, Italy, which begin Feb. 10. Most racers compete in two, at most.

Miller is also skiing's mad scientist. There couldn't possibly be anyone who has thought more about what it takes to win a ski race. He has contemplated every aspect of the sport, whether it's boot design, the way your nerves should fire during a turn or even how the World Cup tour should operate. "I simply think things through, and I look at problems," he told *TIME*. "One thing I pride myself on is the ability to connect unconnected thoughts and come up with new, unique thoughts."

For U.S. ski-team officials who have been the receivers of those thoughts, the *60 Minutes* fiasco may have been a long-



BIG MAN ON THE SKI SLOPES

Bode Miller, the skier with the unorthodox style, is one of the few racers with the stamina and versatility to compete in all five Alpine events in Torino. In addition to the four shown here, Miller will ski the combined event, which is a shorter downhill run followed by two slalom runs

Sources: Torino2006.org; International Olympic Committee; CBC Radio-Canada

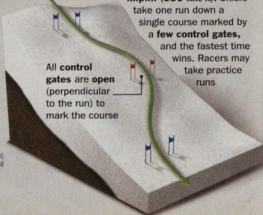
TIME Graphic by Ed Gabell; text by Kristina Dell

DOWNHILL Vertical drop: 2,625 ft. (800 m)

It's the **longest** course of the Alpine events and one of the most dangerous competitions at the Winter Games, with speeds of more than **80 m.p.h. (130 km/h)**. Skiers take one run down a

single course marked by a few control gates, and the fastest time wins. Racers may take practice runs

All control gates are open (perpendicular to the run) to mark the course





DOWNHILL RACER
To improve his game, Miller has scrutinized the technicalities of the slopes and made innovative changes to his skis and boots

SUPER-G

2,130 ft. (650 m)

Shorter than the downhill but longer than the giant slalom, the super giant slalom combines speed with technical turns. Racers carve fast turns over a single course with at least 35

directional changes, at speeds of more than **60 m.p.h. (100 km/h)**. A morning inspection is allowed, but no practice run

Some gates are **closed** (parallel to run) to force turns that control speed

GIANT SLALOM

1,475 ft. (450 m)

It's a looser, faster version of the slalom, with **wider turns**. The fastest total time from two runs on different courses wins. Parabolic (hourglass-shaped) skis used for the past 15 years have allowed better control, so more traditional speed racers are entering this event. Only an inspection is permitted

About **50 sets** of open and closed gates

SLALOM

720 ft. (220 m)

It's the **shortest course**, with the **quickest turns**. Racers use short skis and body armor to protect against the impact of gates. Each skier makes two consecutive runs down the

same slope on different courses. The lowest combined score wins. Only an inspection is permitted

55 to 75 gates, including **flushes** (three or four closed gates in a row) and **hairpins** (two closed gates)



2006 OLYMPICS

awaited opportunity to whack the puppy with the paper. "Talented people are a challenge, and what makes some people great is that they require a lot," says Bill Marolt, president of the USSA. (Translation: This guy drives me batty.) "Hopefully this has created something positive, not just with Bode but with the whole team." For years Miller has challenged U.S. brass about coaching, training and conditioning methods, equipment and what he considers insufficient support for his ideas. "They are not totally compliant yet," he deadpans. Yet he is serious in his purpose. The coaches, he says, "are forcing athletes to train poorly for the sport. And I find that irritating." Head U.S. men's coach Phil McNichol says Miller has been given plenty of atten-

tion, "but he pushes all the boundaries. That's part of his personality. He's about pushing buttons and pushing boundaries."

It's more irritating this year because U.S. coaches think they can top the long-dominant Austrians in Torino. The USSA motto—Best in the World—may sound immodest, but the team heading to Italy may well be the most talented group of skiers the U.S. has ever assembled. Miller's teammate Daron Rahlves, in fact, was sensational in winning the Lauberhorn downhill at Wengen. John McBride, the men's speed coach and a Miller confidant, acknowledges that the dustup "had been a team issue." But it's not, he adds, "like Bode's turned into a bad guy."

He isn't. On the World Cup circuit



MOUNTAIN MEN Baby Bode, with dad Woody, grew up in the New Hampshire woods in a home with no running water and no electricity

Miller is rock-star popular and travels like one. Rather than stay in hotels, he does the Alpine tour in a recreational vehicle driven by his boyhood friend Jake Sereno. His uncle, Mike Kenney, a former ski racer, acts as his personal adviser. From Camp Bode, he patrols the Internet (where he met his girlfriend Karen Sherri), writes an online journal for the *Denver Post*, conducts a radio show for Sirius and hangs out, often with the press and his fans camped outside. "For me, he's all the best things about America: a bit of a showman, sure, but also friendly and like-

PROFILES

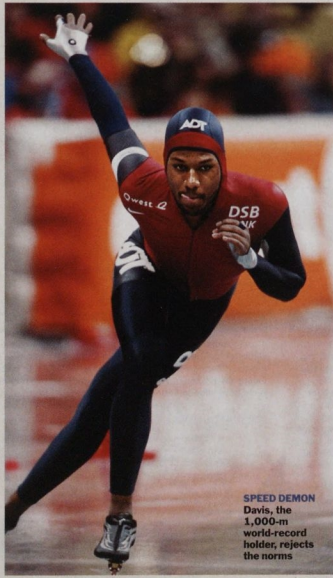
OTHER REBELS WITH THEIR OWN CAUSES

He's Fire on Ice—and Off It

Shani Davis has always set his own course. While most boys in his South Side Chicago neighborhood were trying to shoot hoops like Michael Jordan, Davis was lacing on skates and speeding around an ice rink. His buddies teased him for dedicating himself to a sport that seemed so white. "A lot of kids made fun of [speed skating] because it wasn't a thing you could do to get rich," says Davis.

Speed skating is still largely a white sport, and he has yet to get rich from it, but Davis, 23, the first African American to qualify for a U.S. Olympic speed-skating team, is now a gold-medal favorite for the 1,000-m and 1,500-m races at the Games in Torino. He's also one of the sport's most controversial figures, feuding openly with its governing body, U.S. Speedskating.

The dispute centers on the federation's decision to reduce its funding for Davis' training because he wears on his uniform the logo of Netherlands-based bank DSB, which is not an official U.S. speed-skating team sponsor. "Speed skating has lots of potential to be a big sport," says Davis—who, although he is relatively unknown in the U.S., has a broader following in Europe,



SHANI DAVIS—REUTERS

where the sport is popular. The U.S. Speedskating officials, he complains, "don't want to grow in a way where they have five or six Shani Davises." The organization's officials say they are disappointed with the comments but will support Davis at the Olympics.

Davis first went on the ice when he was 6. His mother Cherie worked as a secretary for a lawyer who happened to be a speed-skating official and suggested that her son try the sport. Within two years, Davis was winning regional titles. Now 6 ft. 2 in., he propels himself with long, powerful strides to the forefront of the long-track events, in which two skaters race next to each other but against the clock. This winter, defying speed-skating convention, Davis tried to become the first skater to compete in both long-track and the more roller-derry-like short-track events at the same Olympics, but he fell just short of making the short-track team.

The standoff between Davis and the skating establishment widened a bit in December when the skater, who had already qualified for the long-track events, skipped those trials, even after officials had rescheduled them to accommodate his short-track attempt. But there is an upside to the ongoing feud. "If people make him angry," says Davis' mom, "he has a tendency to really perform well."

SPEED DEMON Davis, the 1,000-m world-record holder, rejects the norms

able, without that grim way that some of the European athletes have," says Björn Frick, a fan from Bern. As for the partying, "that's nonsense. If he drinks, he's hardly the first skier to do it." Says Miller's fellow racer Marco Büchel, of Liechtenstein: "The World Cup wouldn't be what it is without Bode. We couldn't do without him."

Ski racers—young, fit and famous—are not exactly strangers in the nightclubs at resorts across Europe and the Rockies. There's a reason the ski circuit is called the "white circus." Italian ski legend Alberto Tomba (La Bomba) kept the tabloids busy with his evening exploits. "If any of the sponsors didn't know what they were in for, that this is a part of the package, shame on them," says a Nike rep. According to Miller's agent, Miller just inked the biggest deal ever for a skier, with equipment maker Atomic. He also endorses Barilla pasta, among other products,

the income from which provided enough money for him to buy a 600-acre farm in New Hampshire. To the Swoosh folks, who love edgy marketing and freethinking athletes, a jock with a party rep doesn't amount to a problem. In December, Nike launched a website for Miller carrying the tagline "Join Bode" that features the skier offering his philosophy on everything from mental training to retirement.

It's not that Miller, 28, was groomed for leading a movement. As a kid, he spent lots of time by himself, wandering the woods near his home. He didn't watch television because there wasn't one, which is generally coincident with not having electricity. That lifestyle was a choice made by his parents. His father Woody, a med-school dropout with no thirst for the professional life, found happiness working in the outdoors at a vari-

ety of hardscrabble jobs. His mother Jo worked at her father's sports camp. Miller has two sisters and one brother.

The Millers home schooled their children some years and sent them to the local school others. They lived so far off the beaten path that Bode had to trek through the dark woods to the bus stop. The many hours alone, he says, taught him to think. His parents were laid back, willing to let their children follow their own instincts. That led young Bode to the slopes of Cannon Mountain, an inclination that was no doubt heightened by his parents' split—although each of them lives in separate quarters at the family compound.

Miller's prowess as a skier and his reputation as a hard nut were already known in the area when he was offered a spot in Carrabassett Valley Academy, a prep school in Maine for ski racers. But coaches there



IN CONTROL
Aguirre, Bleiler,
Powers and
Clark, from
left, formed
their own team

BY SEAN GREGORY

The arrangement has worked, at least financially. Before the start of this season and last, Snickers, drawn to the young audience that snowboarding attracts, signed a handsome contract with the Collection. Nickelodeon and Yamaha have also inked deals with the maverick boarders.

Now the Collection is hoping to show that an independent team can shine in the Olympics. Powers is in solid position to defend his gold, and strong performances by Clark and Finch at the last Olympic qualifiers, Jan. 20-21, could earn them a Torino trip too. Aguirre is a near lock for the team.

But it is Bleiler, who tests limits both on and off the pipe, who appears most ready for breakout

Mavericks On Board

During a training session at Colorado's Snowmass Mountain, near Aspen last week, a group of elite snowboarders who call themselves the Collection swooshed, spun and flipped over a curved channel, or half-pipe, changing the way their sport is played.

It's more than rare talent alone that separates the

Collection—whose members include teen phenoms Mason Aguirre, 18, and Luke Mitrani, 15; 2002 Olympic gold medalists Ross Powers, 26, and Kelly Clark, 22; 2005 X-Games silver medalist Andy Finch, 24; and Gretchen Bleiler, 24, who is expected to take the women's half-pipe gold in Torino—from the rest of the snowboarding world. The group, formed in 2004, is the first rider-controlled team in the sport, operating outside the U.S. Ski and Snowboard Association (USSA), which oversees the U.S. national team.

The Collection picks its own coach, chooses where to compete and, most important, collects its own sponsorship dollars. Under USSA guidelines, team sponsorship money is shared with the skiers, a sore point for the boarders. "It seems like no matter how hard the snowboarders work, the money goes to the skiing side of things," says Powers, who conceived the collective concept. "The Collection gives us the freedom to pick and choose what we want to do, and the money keeps going back into the team."

stardom. Clad in a painted-on bikini, she posed for a racy FHM cover before the 2004 X-Games. "It definitely crosses the line of my comfort zone," she says. "I pushed myself." She plans to push at the Olympics too. On her program is the Michaelchuck, a backflip trick that no woman has ever landed in competition. Bleiler credits her Collection teammates for some of her success. "We're definitely having to bushwhack our way through this whole thing, but it's exciting," she says. "It's kind of really coming together."

—With reporting by Rita Healy/Aspen

ROBERT GALLAGHER FOR TIME



OUT IN FRONT: In 2005 Miller became the first U.S. skier in 22 years to win the World Cup overall championship

couldn't tame him. They kept trying to alter his so-called back-seat style, and he resisted fiercely. If you want to ski on your ass, they finally told him, become a snowboarder. In his book, *Bode: Go Fast, Be Good, Have Fun*, he claims that another local coach even sabotaged his chance for the junior Olympic team. Then, when he was 19, a still unknown Miller skied his way on to the national team.

Experiences like those made him an iconoclast. He learned to appreciate the process of racing, not necessarily the result. And he learned to coach himself, because no one else could. You can hear the resentment in his voice today: "We should tell our kids to just have fun, participate and not get bent on winning or losing. But every coach, when they say that, they say it tongue in cheek, 'Don't worry about winning': If you win I'll get you ice cream, but if you lose I'm going to pout in the car."

At one point in his career, Miller's slalom-racing results could be summed up in three letters, *DNF*, as in did not finish. He seemed determined to either win or crash. But not from recklessness. He was in the process of changing his tactics. Simply trying to go faster wasn't working; correcting errors was harder, equipment didn't work as well. Instead, he figured that the quickest route down the mountain was the shortest route between gates. And that required deep analysis. "I needed to learn how to change directions and generate force that was different from other guys," he says. "I had to think about ankle torsion, where the screws are on the ski,

how that affects the forces going into the ski and how the ski bends, your leverage points." He did not have to win. "It was a challenge. I was having the greatest time, making the mistakes, crashing. I didn't love racing to beat other guys. I loved it because it allowed me to do that exploring."

Similarly, Miller has his own ideas about training that have clashed with his coaches'. The USSA, like most sports federations, uses standard testing to evaluate athletes. That, says Miller, causes athletes to train for the test, not the sport. He be-

"I WAS HAVING THE GREATEST TIME, MAKING MISTAKES. I DIDN'T LOVE RACING TO BEAT OTHER GUYS."

lieves that ski racing requires a different approach to fitness. "My team has been very unresponsive about the fact that I consistently show them that I train slightly differently than they do, that I consistently show them that I am in better shape for ski racing than anyone else on the team," he points out. And why wouldn't he know better than they what will work for him? "I didn't feel anyone is more equipped to analyze that than I was," he says. "I've been myself my whole life."

Last year, after tinkering with his boots, he discovered that inserting a composite—as opposed to aluminum or plastic—lift under the sole gave him a better feel on the snow and better performance. Then he did something really crazy: he shared the information with everyone, including competitors. His equipment team flipped, but in the Miller school of philosophy this makes complete sense. Otherwise, he says, "I'm maintaining an unfair advantage over my competitors knowingly, for the purpose of beating them alone. Not for the purpose of enjoying it more or skiing better. To me that's ethically unsound."

His approach clearly works. He has won two Olympic medals, four world championship golds and 19 World Cup events. In a sport in which athletes tend to specialize in either the speed events (downhill, super-G) or technical events (slalom, giant slalom), Miller does it all. In the first race after his apology, Miller smoked the slalom part of the day's super combined event (downhill and slalom), putting him more than a second ahead of the field. It's an astonishing feat, given that most racers are separated by hundredths of seconds. He was, however, disqualified on a technicality, despite a U.S. protest.

Another losing day? Not necessarily. He had accomplished something, proving again that his willpower, his think-first, ski-better approach, had prevailed. That must have made him happy. And he probably had a beer afterward. That probably made him happy too. —*With reporting by James Graff and Helen Scott-Smith/Wengen*

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BALDING, WRINK

The '60s are gone, but for some baby boomers, the drugs aren't. A guide to the cost of a 40-year high

By JEFFREY KLUGER with
JEFFREY RESSNER

FEW PEOPLE KNOW THE PERILS OF drug abuse better than a 55-year-old former schoolteacher whose job it used to be to teach that very topic—which is why it's particularly ironic that she's a cocaine addict today. More than 30 years ago, Gwen—who prefers to keep it to one name when discussing her addiction—spent her days teaching in the Virginia school system and drafting the schools' drug-and-alcohol-abuse curriculum. She spent her nights researching the subject firsthand.

"I started using alcohol and pot in college," she says. "Then I turned to sniffing cocaine and freebasing. By the time I began teaching, I was spending big-time money. My body knew that I got out of school at 3:30 every day, and then I'd have to go out and get my drugs."

Today Gwen spends most of her time far from Virginia, living in New York City and attending regular sobriety meetings in the Odyssey House ElderCare treatment program in East Harlem. It's not how she envisioned her retirement. "I never thought the drug-abuse classes I taught applied to me," she says. "But here I am."

She's hardly alone. Of the more than 75 million baby boomers who came of age in the 1960s and '70s, millions experimented with drugs during their impressionable teenage years, and millions went on to enter middle age—and are now headed into their senior years—with decades-long addictions. Hard numbers are not easy to come by, but older addicts are clearly a growth sector in the drug-recovery industry. There are an estimated 1.7 million Americans over age 50 addicted to drugs, according to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA), a division of the



LED AND STONED

Department of Health and Human Services. By 2020 SAMHSA expects the number to reach 4.4 million. Already an ongoing federal study has found that the number of older Americans seeking help for heroin or cocaine abuse roughly quadrupled from 1992 to 2002. Odyssey House, which was founded to treat younger addicts, now has a separate division, with both inpatient and outpatient facilities, to deal specifically with older users.

What makes the problem especially hard for seniors is that the wages of drug abuse are cumulative. A lifetime of recreational chemistry also means a lifetime of neglect of overall health—as a recent morning meeting at Odyssey House illustrated. There were too many canes in evidence for a group so comparatively young—the legacy of joints wrecked by years of undertreated diabetes—and too many bad hearts and bum livers and vascular systems fighting hypertension. “This is the first generation to have a high incidence of using recreational drugs,” says SAMHSA epidemiologist Joseph Groer. “All this puts them at risk for problems.”

But why did those baby boomers stay aboard the drug carousel when so many millions more climbed off? And what exactly have 40 years of experimental pharmacology done to them? It would not have been possible—much less ethical—to recruit subjects when the 1960s drug circus got started, send them off for four decades of substance abuse and bring them back for study. But now that the ad hoc longitudinal experiment those aging boomers have been conducting on themselves is reaching its endgame, addiction

experts are pouncing on what the doctors and psychiatrists treating the abusers are learning. What they uncover may help not only the surviving victims of the early drug years but younger users as well.

Of all the drugs the boomers have used, perhaps the four most notorious have been marijuana, hallucinogens, cocaine and heroin. Researchers have devoted enormous effort to studying those drugs' long-term effects. The results have been decidedly mixed.

MARIJUANA The so-called demon weed turned out to be a lot less devilish than advertised. The popular image of the

There are too many canes in use for people in their 50s and 60s, too many bad hearts and bum livers

goofy, smoky slacker notwithstanding, a 2003 study in the *Journal of the International Neuropsychological Society* found that even among regular users, there is no proof that pot causes irreversible cognitive damage. Memory does get cloudy, and learning new information does get harder, but those effects fade if the user does kick the habit. The drug may also diminish libido and fertility. (So much for its promised free-love properties.) And as with any intoxicating chemical, pot use can become chronic and compulsive, crowding out room for much else. “If you came to our adolescent program and saw the 16-year-old kids whose lives have become unmanageable as a result of pot use, you’d understand it’s addictive,” says psychologist Peter Provet, president of Odyssey House. “But a lot of

people who use pot don’t become addicts.”

Scientists haven’t settled on whether repeated chestfuls of unfiltered marijuana smoke increase the risk of pulmonary disease and cancers of the mouth, throat and lungs. Although a recent study out of UCLA says no, practitioners in the field disagree. “There’s certainly strong if not definitive evidence that long-term smokers take in a lot of particulates and carcinogens,” says Dr. Robert Raicht, medical director of Odyssey House.

HALLUCINOGENS Things are trickier when it comes to LSD and its hallucinogenic kin, but reports suggest that most ‘60s trips ended relatively benignly. The most rigorous studies of hallucinogens have been conducted not on boomers, who used the drugs intermittently and furtively, but on Native American populations for whom consumption of the hallucinogen peyote is part of their cultural and religious fabric. In November researchers from the McLean psychiatric hospital outside Boston released a five-year study that found no cognitive or psychological problems among Native American regular users, some of whom even performed better on psychological tests than those with minimal substance use. It’s certainly too much to say that every peyote user emerges undamaged by the drug, and the lead researcher on the study, Dr. John Halpern, takes care to stress that his findings apply only to the Native American groups he studied.

LSD and mescaline, which are often whipped up in unpoliced labs in uncontrolled ways, present different problems. The condition that the experts call HPPD (hallucinogen persisting perception disorder) and that users call flashbacks is a very real problem. But Halpern says it is relatively rare, striking mostly people who use LSD specifically. But there are other risks too. Some trips have ended catastrophically, with suicides or fatal accidents. In other cases, the disaster was not physical but emotional. “There were a lot of people who de-

1.7 million

Estimated number of Americans over 50 who were abusing drugs in 2001

4.4 million

Number of over-50 abusers by 2020, when baby boomers will be 56 to 74

compensated into major mental illness," says Dr. Charles Grob, a professor of psychiatry at UCLA's school of medicine. "But you could make the case that these were people who were vulnerable to begin with."

COCAINE The coke party started late for most boomers—not until the 1980s—but when it hit, it hit hard. Even cocaine apologists admit that the drug is dangerously addictive and sometimes lethal. Coke-triggered strokes and heart attacks—both of which can occur in people with no known cardiovascular disease—are the real deal, caused by the sudden elevation of blood pressure and spasms of vessels. "The damage can be done suddenly and acutely," says Raicht, "or slowly and chronically."

Whether periodic cocaine use develops into disabling addiction can be something of a crapshoot. "There's a tendency for most people who have any kind of stake in conventional life to modulate their use and not let it get out of hand," says Craig Reinman, a sociologist at the University of California at Santa Cruz and a co-author of two books on cocaine. For most people, he says, the breaking point for cocaine use is about an eighth of an ounce a week. But that's just a very general rule, and for many people, the threshold can be lower. And when it comes to crack—crystallized and smoked instead of snorted—addiction, often from the first use, is much harder to avoid.

HEROIN Easily the most lethal of the gang of four, heroin frequently hooks users for the rest of their lives, unless it simply kills them first. One long-term study, published in May 2001 in the *Archives of General Psychiatry*, followed 581 male heroin users from 1962 to 1997. Nearly half the subjects were dead by the time the study ended. Of those still alive,

many were self-medicating with multiple other illicit drugs or alcohol and 67% smoked cigarettes. Not surprisingly, heroin users suffer from a wide range of medical ills, including hypertension, liver and pulmonary diseases and HIV. But the most common cause of death from heroin is overdose, with 22% of the subjects in the long-term study dying that way. Some of the health problems associated with heroin come from the impurities it is cut with. Overdoses often spring from an uncut batch that is unexpectedly pure.

THE ULTIMATE IMPACT OF ANY OF THOSE drugs, of course, depends on the users. No one has yet been able to tease out the precise mix of genetics, temperament and environment that makes one person a recreational user and another a lifelong addict, but clearly there is no single cause. "There are inherited components, hormonal components, psychosocial variables such as poverty," says Provet. And then, of course, there is mere opportunity—something the '60s provided in abundance.

"That was the era," says Evelyn, 56, an Odyssey House graduate and an addiction counselor there. "If the drugs hadn't been so available, I wouldn't have been apt to go looking for them."

As drug users mature, geriatric biology and life circumstances tend to tighten the drugs' hold. Reduced body mass, slower metabolism and less efficient kidneys and liver mean that the same quantity of drug hits harder and stays in the body longer.

Older users who think they're keeping their doses fixed are thus, in effect, steadily increasing them. What's more, the loss of a spouse or job or merely the boredom of retirement could tip the nonuser into experimentation and the borderline user into full-blown addiction. Moses, 57, never touched heroin until 2001, when his wife died. But when he picked it up, he got hooked fast. "I missed my wife. I was lonely," he says. "I didn't want to live, but I didn't have the nerve to put a gun to my head."

For the seniors who do get clean—and the millions more who will need to in the years to come—there are a few factors that drive recovery. Seeing peers die of addiction certainly scares some straight. So too do late-life worries about the legacy one is going to leave. "You get to a point when you think about having a dignified end," says Jon Roberts, another Odyssey House veteran who is now a counselor. "You think about family reunification, about giving back through community service, about having spent your life as more than an addict."

It's rare for teenagers of any generation to think that far ahead, never mind the cohort that reached adolescence at the height of the drug boom. It may be impossible to slow the demographic conveyor belt that's going to dump so many of them into the senior population with a habit they picked up during their summers of love. But it's not too late for them to shake it off, achieving the peace in the last chapters of their lives that the drugs promised them in the first.



NEVER TOO OLD Gwen, 55, a former cocaine addict, with a fellow group member at Odyssey House in New York City. Canes are a common sight among older addicts, the result of undertreated diabetes

**Aging metabolisms
cause drugs
to hit harder and
linger longer, doing
more damage with
the same dose**



ENVIRONMENT

Why Are These Frogs Croaking?

Massive die-offs in the American tropics are an early warning of the effects of global warming

By JEFFREY KLUGER

HARDY AND PLENTIFUL AS THEY SEEM, frogs are actually very frail things, with a semipermeable skin that leaves them vulnerable to even the slightest hiccup in their environment. So when entire species of brightly colored harlequin frogs started dying off in the cloud forests

GOING OR GONE 1. Fleischmann's glass frogs: vanishing in Costa Rica 2. Harlequin frog (*Atelopus pulcher*): critically endangered 3. Black Jambato: extinct 4. Golden harlequin frog: critically endangered 5. Glass frog: vanishing in Costa Rica. Harlequin frog (*Atelopus varius*): below, in rapid decline

of Central and South America about 25 years ago, scientists suspected that something in the amphibians' ecosystems—they weren't sure what—had gone awry.

Now an international team of scientists think they've solved the mystery. Comparing changes in annual temperatures with the number of frog species spotted, they've documented for the first time a direct correlation between global warming and the extinction of about two-thirds of the 110 known species of harlequin frog.

The critters in question are favorites of scientists studying climate change. Quick and polychromatic, the frogs spend their days near stream banks, where their constant motion and vibrant hues make it easy for researchers to count them. Previous studies have shown that it's not heat alone that kills harlequins but also a pathogen—the chytrid fungus—that attacks their skin. The chytrid is actually a cool-weather organism, doing best at temperatures from 63°F to 77°F. Paradoxically, an effect of global warming is to increase cloud cover in the tropical forests, lowering daytime temperatures and making the frogs more vulnerable to fungal assault.

The most persuasive piece of evidence in the new study, led by J. Alan Pounds of the Monteverde Cloud Forest Preserve in Costa Rica and published in *Nature*, is a graph that shows both annual changes in average

temperature and the number of frog extinctions per year on the same grid: the jagged lines track each other with eerie precision. Species die-offs follow warm years 80% of the time. With tropical air temperatures from 1975 to 2000 rising three times as fast as the 20th century average, things should only get worse.

Frogs are what scientists call an indicator species: particularly sensitive animals that are the first to go when the climate starts to change. Their extinction may increase pressure on government and industry to dial back greenhouse gases. The harlequins, after all, are only the beginning.

—With reporting by Cristina Scalet/New York



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: MICHAEL AND PATRICIA FROESER—HINDEN PICTURES; ON PAUL A. ZAHN—PHOTO RESEARCHERS; JOSEPH AND SYLVAIN COLLINS—PHOTO RESEARCHERS

THE TROUBLE WITH MEMOIRS

An author is accused of making up key parts of his best-selling life story. Does truth really matter?

By LEV GROSSMAN

D ID JAMES FREY, ON THE NIGHT OF OCT. 24, 1992, pull up outside a bar in Granville, Ohio, in a white Mercury? Was he both drunk and high on crack at the time? Did he jump the curb, bump a cop with said Mercury and then get dragged out of the car screaming by the police, who proceeded to beat him up?

Did he then go to rehab, write a book about it, inspire millions of readers and make a ton of money?

A lot of the stories Frey tells in his 2003 memoir, *A Million Little Pieces*, are currently in dispute, but that last tale isn't. To date *A Million Little Pieces* has sold about 3.5 million copies, helped not a little by the fact that Oprah Winfrey chose it as her book club's third nonfiction title. She proclaimed Frey the Man Who Kept Oprah Awake at Night. The only book that sold better than *A Million Little Pieces* last year was *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*. Frey's 2005 sequel, *My Friend Leonard*, didn't do too badly either.

But what exactly did those millions of readers buy? *A Million Little Pieces* is the gritty, graphic, bombastic story of an Angry Young Man who—despite his well-concealed heart of gold—manages to get himself addicted to drugs and booze. After a string of arrests and a lot of self-destructive behavior, he winds up in a Minnesota rehab clinic, where he befriends a scary-funny gangster (also with a heart of gold) and falls in love with a tragic recovering crack addict (ditto). Redemption ensues.

On Jan. 8, however, the Smoking Gun (www.thesmokinggun.com), a website specializing in digging up public records, posted a lengthy report that challenges some of the facts in Frey's book. Among other things, the website's staff found a lack of evidence that Frey had a relationship with a girl who died

in a train accident when he was in high school—Frey even wrote that he was blamed for the accident, which did much to stoke his dark-star mojo. The Smoking Gun found Frey's claim that he engaged in a melee with police officers in 1992 to have been fabricated. What is most disturbing, in a way (since a major plot point hangs thereon), is that the report questions the book's claim that Frey spent three months in an Ohio jail after rehab. The site even quotes Frey as having said in an interview, "I was in for a significantly shorter period of time than three months."

What's going on here? Did Frey lie to boost his story's drama and his own street cred? TIME was able to check some of the Smoking Gun's findings, and came to the same conclusion. For example, Marianne Sanders, 62, the mother of the girl who died, says that she and her husband recognize Frey but that he was not a good friend of their daughter's and that he wasn't even remotely blamed for the accident that killed her in 1986 (another girl, whom Frey doesn't mention, also died in the accident). "We knew the name," Sanders says. "We didn't know him personally. His name was never mentioned in any connection with the accident at all." (Sanders isn't nearly as upset about the book as a lot of other people. "I don't wish him bad," she says. "He seems like he's a good writer. He should've been a little more careful, I guess.")

As for Frey, he isn't giving an inch—or he gives an inch, but that's all. He wrote on his own website (www.bigjimindustries.com), "Let the haters hate, let the doubters doubt, I stand by my book, and my life, and I won't dignify this bulls— with any sort of further response." On Wednesday (having apparently reconsidered that last part), he turned up on *Larry King Live* with a somewhat more nuanced position. "A memoir is a subjective retelling of events," he said. "It's an individual's perception of what happened in their own life. This is my recollection of my life." (He compared his book to Jerzy Kosinski's *The*



Painted Bird—a misstep, since Kosinski's book was published as a novel.) Oprah called in to the show to lend Frey her carefully phrased support. "The underlying message of redemption in James Frey's memoir still resonates with me," she said. "And I know it resonates with millions of other people who have read this book."

But even though she was covering Frey's back, Winfrey didn't miss the opportunity to protect her own rear, making it clear that she considered publishers, and not herself, responsible for any blowback. "I am disappointed by this controversy," she said, "because I rely on the publishers to define the category that a book falls within and also the authenticity of the work."

That's not actually how it works. Publishers pass the buck to authors. Amazingly, it's rare for a publisher to fact-check the books it sells. Publishers usually just require writers to swear up and down that their books are true and authentic, and leave it at that. "It's pretty much standard practice, outside of potentially libelous statements, that the author is essentially responsible," says Larry Kirshbaum, a literary agent and former CEO of the Time Warner Book Group. "To my knowledge there is very rarely any fact-checking. I think it would be almost impossible to fact-check all the titles that are published by a single publisher. It would be onerous."

As the industry explanation, onerous is not entirely satisfying to readers who believe they are getting a true story. Memoirs have become increasingly lurid in recent years, oozing with child abuse, poverty, drugs, alcohol, violence and insanity, and sex in any number of unsavory flavors; the bar was permanently raised (or lowered) in 1997, when Kathryn Harrison published *The Kiss*, an account of her four-year affair with her father. Not coincidentally, memoirs have also become one of the best-selling categories in publishing. It's not hard to imagine the combination of high stakes and a reigning spirit of hotly contested one-downsmanship leading writers to exaggerate.

But leaving aside the basic weirdness of a man's reputation being damaged by the fact that he didn't do jail time, there's also a larger cultural collision in progress here. Right now, according to Nielsen BookScan, nonfiction outsells fiction by about 100 million books a year. "Fiction seems to have lost a lot of authority in the culture," says Michael Coffey, executive managing editor at *Publishers Weekly*. "People now look more toward true stories as something that justifies the expense of their time."

Down Memory Lane

Write and Wrong

Frey's book is hardly the first to come under fire. Memoirs have always attracted unsolicited fact-checking, especially by the people in them



GEORGE KARRER—TIME LIFE/RETNA

LILLIAN HELLMAN
Penitentiary
Published: 1973

The playwright's account of her lifelong friendship with a woman she probably never met.

Mary McCarthy famously remarked, "Every word she writes is a lie, including a and the."

DAVE PELZER
A Child Called "It"
Published: 1993

An account of Pelzer's hideous, violent abuse as a child at his mother's hands. Family members have disputed his version. His grandmother once said, "His books should be in the fiction section."



ARISTIDE MONTANARI



JIM COOPER—AP

FRANK MCCOURT
Angela's Ashes
Published: 1996

A bleak, lyrical account of growing up poor in Ireland, McCourt's memoir won a Pulitzer Prize.

It also earned some grumbling from his native Limerick, where it was felt he had wronged his hometown.

AUGUSTEN BURROUGHS
Running with Scissors
Published: 2002

In his book, Burroughs says his parents sent him to live with an eccentric psychiatrist and his brood. The brood feeds maligned—and has filed a lawsuit.



ALBERT W. WINSTON



TINA FINE—AP/WIDE WORLD

TONY HENDRA
Father Joe
Published: 2004

Hendra scored a best seller with his tale of finding redemption through his friendship with a Benedictine monk. His daughter fired back with a memoir of her own, claiming Hendra had left something out—that he molested her.

But there's no corresponding willingness on the part of readers to give up the quirky characters and vivid details and sexy twists and pleasing, rounded endings they're used to in fiction. To get those effects in nonfiction, writers sometimes cut corners—the factual kind. "If you want to have something that can be sold as based on a true story," Coffey says, "you're going to run into guys like James Frey who are embellishing with techniques that are considered a gift in fiction writing but apparently a sin in a memoir."

No wonder a panel of linguists chose *truthiness*—a word popularized by faux anchorman Stephen Colbert to mean "the quality of preferring concepts or facts one wishes to be true, rather than concepts or facts known to be true"—as 2005's word of the year. A *Million Little Pieces* is packed with truthiness the way Dunkin' Donuts' Latte Lite is packed with Splenda.

In defense of his book, Frey invoked the fundamentally subjective nature of the memoir. "It's an individual's perception," he said to King, "my recollection." And he's right. Any memoir is unavoidably filtered through the author's memory and feelings and the inherently impressionistic nature of any literary medium. But before we get lost in an epistemological fog, let's not forget that there's a difference between unavoidable distortions and willful deceptions. Some falsehoods come with the territory of the memoirist; others must be deliberately imported into it. That's a distinction that memoirist Mary Karr, author of *The Liars' Club* and *Cherry*, is adamant about. "This is not rocket science," she says. "This is not like sexing a chicken. Is it fiction, is it nonfiction? I think the entire book is horse dookie. This guy has done for memoirs what Jayson Blair [the *New York Times* reporter who fabricated interviews] did for reporters. What would it have cost him to stick a label of fiction on it?"

Karr isn't the only memoir writer who's mad as hell. Jeannette Walls, author of *The Glass Castle*, says she has been losing sleep over it. "What he did is wrong on so many levels, and I'm outraged by it," she fumes. "He lied. Writing a memoir, especially one like he was supposed to have done—you sit down, and you write about your innermost feelings and your experiences, and you share them with your readers. When it succeeds, it's a very intimate exchange. For him to have just so badly lied is horrifying and disgusting and disgraceful."

Walls is eloquent about the emotional cost of being honest on paper. Parts of *The*

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Glass Castle describe growing up desperately poor in West Virginia. "In school," she remembers, "I would go into the girls' bathroom and fish lunches out of the wastepaper basket. It was very, very embarrassing. It was something I had never told anybody." And both Walls and Karr vigorously maintain that nobody has been able to dispute the facts of their stories.

As does Frank McCourt, author of *Angela's Ashes*, 'Tis and this year's *Teacher Man*. "I ran into all of this questioning and disbelief," he says, "and nobody was able to trip me up on any of the facts of my life." He, too, is reluctant to resort to high-level metaphysics to steer a course between fact and fiction. "It's like having commentary at a football game. There's the guy who gives you all of the statistics and tells you what you're looking at. Then there's one who provides color. I think the memoir writer is doing both."

Frey's second line of defense is a little more formidable. As he put it on *Larry King*, "the emotional truth is there" in his book. He means that whatever the bookkeepers and muckrakers turn up, his story has a psychological power that makes its factual status more or less moot. Millions of people, some of them addicts, read the book and



TRUE LIES Frey at home in New York City. Although he eschews A.A., he has been sober for 13 years

were deeply moved. Frey's readings are mob scenes. Are you really going to make a federal case out of where you shelve him in the bookstore?

But that just raises the question, If it's not factual, why didn't Frey publish *A Million Little Pieces* as fiction? By claiming that his story is literally true, Frey endows it with a heightened immediacy and an emotional force that it would have lacked as a novel. In effect, he borrowed a little extra emotional *oomph* from his trusting readers, who treated his book as lived experience, a receipt for real dues paid by a real person.

That's not trivial. If Frey wasn't entitled to that immediacy and that force—if he

stole that *oomph* rather than earned it—well, that's cheating. Frey originally shopped the book to publishers as a work of fiction. How does that not set off anybody's alarm bells?

But step back a bit from the melee, and you can see a different picture, one that's easier to sympathize with. Whatever its facts are, *A Million Little Pieces* has moments of great and indisputable honesty, moments when Frey is willing to show himself looking ridiculous and unpleasant and petty and even cowardly. Here's one of them: "Lying became part of my life," he writes about his years as a drug-addicted college student. "I lied if I needed to lie to get something or get out of something."

Nobody questions that Frey was an alcoholic and a drug addict. And one of the habits addicts pick up is bending and breaking the truth on a regular, routine basis. If you look at the distortions in Frey's book not as acts of cynical calculation or self-aggrandizement but as symptoms of his disease, they have a pathos to them. If Frey is still lying, if he can't face his life as he lived it, he's not whole yet. Redemption is a wonderful thing, but it's possible that the man whose life became *A Million Little Pieces* may not have quite put himself back together again. —Reported by Kristin Koberdanz/Chicago, Lina Lofaro and Andrea Sachs/New York and Chris Maag/Granville

The Curious Case of JT Leroy

The Boy Who Wasn't There

Unfolding in eerie synchronicity with the controversy surrounding James Frey is the far stranger case of the writer JT Leroy. Leroy is, or was, a cult phenomenon, less well-known than Frey but with a passionate following that included several celebrities, among them Carrie Fisher, Billy Corgan and Courtney Love.

Part of Leroy's appeal—as with Frey's—was his terrifying personal history. As a boy in rural West Virginia, Leroy was pimped out by his mother as a "lot lizard"—a truck-stop prostitute—before he made his way to the streets of Los Angeles, where he became homeless and addicted to drugs. Somewhere along the way he contracted HIV.

Rescued by a kindly couple

and nursed into a semblance of stability by a psychologist, Leroy began spinning his brutal early years into literary gold. In 2000, when Leroy was 20, the *New York Times* called his first novel, *Sarah*, "deft and imaginative" and "astonishingly confident." Writers like Dennis Cooper and Gary Shteynberg champi-

oned him. Dave Eggers published him in his literary magazine. Two more books followed, along with numerous stories, articles and Hollywood offers. One adaptation (*The Heart Is Deceitful Above All Things*) is due out in March, and another is in development.

Leroy cultivated an eccentric, reclusive image. In person, he was flighty and silent,

TWO-FACED: Leroy, below center, with Laura Albert; inset, Savannah Knoop, the woman who played the writer

always wearing dark glasses, a Warholian wig and a necklace that he said was made from a raccoon's penis. At public appearances he had celebrities read his works for him.

And then the persona fell apart. In October, *New York* magazine produced evidence that Leroy was a whole-cloth fabrication by a couple of older writer-musicians named Laura Albert and Geoffrey Knoop. This month the *New York Times* confirmed the story and added that Leroy has been played in public by Knoop's younger stepsister Savannah.

The Knoops are not commenting. One could try to defend the deception as a post-modern game in which the author's identity becomes part of the art, but that feels like more charity than the case deserves. The revelations can only leave Leroy's fans disappointed and his works diminished. If it is a game, it's the readers who lose. —L.G.



Let the Revolution Begin

For Hollywood, *Bubble* means trouble: a new way of releasing films. Oh, and the movie's good too

SCHIZOPOLIS IS THE NAME OF A META-weird movie that Steven Soderbergh once wrote, directed, photographed and starred in (playing two roles, of course). It might also be the name of the artistic fiefdom he has created. Few Hollywood directors have such a distinct signature—or, rather, two of them. One part of Soderbergh's brain makes can't-miss caper films and weepie dramas (*Ocean's Eleven*, *Erin Brockovich*) with the town's priciest talent. Another part is indelibly indie: he will shoot an ad-lib HBO series about lobbyists (*K Street*), or remake a mystical Russian sci-fi art film (*Solaris*). Not everything works, but it's more than cool that he tries.

Bubble is, in a few ways, Soderbergh's most radical and invigorating experiment yet. He made it for peanuts in blue-collar towns on the Ohio-West Virginia border, casting in the leading roles locals who had never acted before. He shot it (himself, under the name Peter Andrews) in three weeks with digital cameras. And if you're wondering where you can find *Bubble*, the answer is kind of everywhere: on Jan. 27 in the Landmark theater chain, on the HDNet Movies cable-TV channel and on Jan. 31 on DVD. It's the first film with a three-media premiere.

Small it may be in scope and budget, but *Bubble* is a big blast at the antiquated way movies get to people. The film is the first of six that Soderbergh plans to make in a deal with the Broadcast.com billionaires Todd Wagner and Mark Cuban. Although

commitments to more traditional movies will delay his other HDNet projects till next year, *Bubble* marks a grand beginning.

Coleman Hough's spare, perceptive script is set in what must be one of the last doll-manufacturing plants in the U.S. Hefty, fortyish Martha (Debbie Doebereiner) and her winsome young friend Kyle (Dustin Ashley) pass their lunch breaks eating

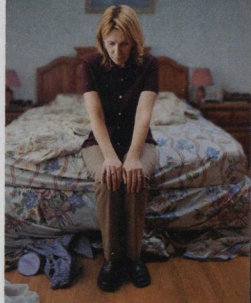
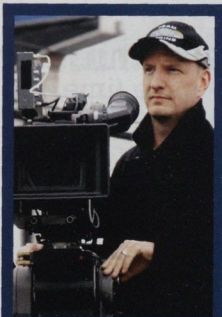
fast food and making slow talk. Rose (Misty Wilkins), a young single mom with a bit of a past and some bad habits, joins the workforce and upsets Martha's and Kyle's placid comradeship. Pretty soon there's a death.

The dialogue is time-filling conversation you might hear anywhere (but in a Hollywood movie). The film doesn't judge or prod its characters, just watches the long fuse of the plot dwindle, then explode. The "actors" bring an authenticity to this strip-mall, strip-mined area. Ashley is a student, Wilkins a beauty-salon stylist, and Doebereiner the manager of the Parkersburg, W.Va., Kentucky Fried

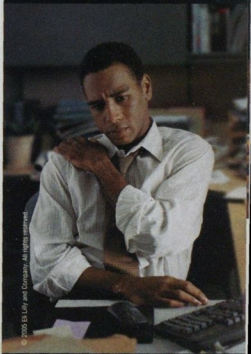
EXPERIMENTAL: In addition to commercial hits, Soderbergh, above, directs chancier indie tales; this one stars first-time actor Ashley, left

Chicken. All are good, but Doebereiner's a real find. With eyes as blue as those her Martha presses into plastic doll faces, she brings a fresh look to a decent person who's addicted to the emotional status quo.

Martha won't get what she wants. Neither will studio bosses and movie exhibitors, if Soderbergh and his fellow incendiaries have their way. But forget for the moment the promise and threat that *Bubble* holds for The Future of Movies. This is a fascinating drama for Right Now. —By Richard Corliss



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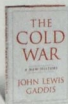


READY TO FALL:
In 1989, revelers
celebrate atop
the Berlin Wall

BOOKS

Nobody Used the Big One

A major American historian revisits the global struggle between communism and the West



ADMIT IT—YOU MISS THE cold war. It was a roughly symmetrical duel, a face-off between two nuclear powers. The battle against terrorism is more like a free-for-all in a gladiator movie—spear vs. net, triton

vs. tiger. We land our troops with guns. They board our trains with backpacks.

In *The Cold War: A New History* (the Penguin Press; 333 pages), John Lewis Gaddis, the pre-eminent American scholar of the period, does indeed manage to make the old global standoff seem, for all its insanities, like a relatively coherent and well-managed struggle. In this brisk, useful primer on the period, he reminds us that containment, the decades-long American policy of confining Soviet ambitions abroad, though a dangerous game, was a highly successful one. "The world, I am quite sure, is a better place for that conflict having been fought in the way it was," he writes, "and won by the side that won it."

But at the outset, no one could be sure that would be so. At the close of World War II, the Soviet Union had a huge predominance in the number of troops stationed at the edge of Western Europe. For a time, the U.S. had the advantage of nuclear weapons, but not for long. Franklin Roosevelt once assured Stalin that the U.S. would withdraw from Europe within two years after Hitler was defeated. Instead, faced with

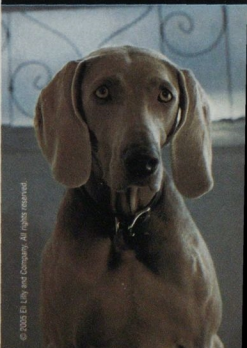
the need to protect weakened Western democracies, the U.S. would embark on the Marshall Plan, a bid to make Europeans prosperous enough fast enough to keep them from turning communist, and initiate NATO, its first transatlantic alliance since its 18th century pact with France.

For Gaddis, it was Dwight Eisenhower who made one of the crucial recognitions of the nuclear era, that American policy must be based on the assumption that any nuclear war would quickly escalate to an all-out exchange, annihilating both sides. Although this discouraged policy thinkers who imagined that tactical nukes could become battlefield options in small wars, it also opened the way to the world of mutually assured destruction, the lasting stalemate between two massively armed powers that only dared to thrust at each other indirectly, through proxy wars in Southeast Asia, Africa and Central America.

The status quo might have stood even longer than it did, Gaddis argues, but along came Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II and Mikhail Gorbachev, all prepared to think anew. By that time, thanks to the manifest failures of the Marxist system, so were a lot of other people. More than the disposition of forces, victory in the war of ideas was crucial to ending the cold war. When the Berlin Wall finally fell, communism was so discredited that not even communists believed in it anymore. —By Richard Lacayo



Who does
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Answers That Matter.



HOUSE OF PAIN: Anderson is caught in a legal loop

BOB DICK: NYSCHE/BAUER

tabloids—which consists mainly of getting record deals, obsessing over celebrities and making a pile of money. *I Am Not an Animal* shows what separates us from the fauna—and it isn't pretty.

TWENTY THOUSAND STREETS UNDER THE SKY

BBC AMERICA, FEB. 11 AND 12, 8 P.M. E.T.

THIS WISTFUL MINI-SERIES, based on a 1935 Patrick Hamilton novel, is less love triangle than unrequited love triangle. Plain, earnest pub worker Ella (Sally Hawkins) pines for naive, literary barman Bob (Bryan Dick), who in turn pines for Jenny (Zoë Tapper), a streetwalker who pines for her former self, her lost opportunities and her ability to love. *Streets* is a keen-eyed, elegantly acted noir drama of heartbreak in alleys and darkened movie houses.

EPITAFIOS
HBO SIGNATURE, WEDNESDAYS, 9 P.M. E.T.

A PSYCHIATRIST compliments a killer who arranges elaborate tableaux at his murder sites: "He created a symbolic space full of metaphors." True of this serial killer, and true of this killer serial. Dark, operatic and visually rich, this Argentine drama derives its suspense from its willingness to do anything—including killing off cops who are central to the story. The indispensable star of a crime show, *Epitafios* understands, is the criminal.



◀ THE CITY GARDENER
HGTV, SATURDAYS, 11 P.M. E.T.

BRITAIN IS KNOWN FOR ITS grand formal gardens—but also the dank town-house backyards that Matt James renovates: drab, walled pits that are, as he says, "more prison yard than courtyard." His budget-conscious solutions treat each garden like an extension of the house, making up for limited space with careful design. You may not appreciate all his choices—say, the herd of statutory cows traipsing through a patio—but even suburbanites can learn from him about handling common problems, especially lack of sunlight. (This is a British show, after all.)



▲ HUSTLE
AMC, SATURDAYS, 10 P.M. E.T.
THIS UNAPOLOGETICALLY SLIGHT con drama is a chrome-plated time machine back to the mid-'60s. In the spirit of *Catch Me If You Can*, it signals its retro intentions with midcentury-modern production design, a jazz sound track and the casting of Robert Vaughn (*The Man from U.N.C.L.E.*) as an aging grifter ("You're never too old to cheat, my dear"). Adrian Lester (*Primary Colors*) is ice cool as Mickey, a Zen master of con who treats his work more as philosophy than fraud. It's all delightfully phony, but will win your faith on charm and panache. Just watch your wallet. —By James Poniewozik

6 CHOICE IMPORTS TO CATCH

TV is an American cash crop, but these shows make the case for free trade

BLEAK HOUSE
PBS, SUNDAYS, 9 P.M. E.T.

EVEN AT EIGHT HOURS, THIS adaptation of Charles Dickens' tale of an interminable inheritance case is quite nimble a feat for writer Andrew Davies. The Masterpiece Theatre coproduction captures the novel's satire, melodrama and horror-movie suspense without undercutting any of those disparate tones. Gillian Anderson is haunting as Lady Dedlock, a claimant tormented by the mystery of a long-lost lover. But the emotional heart of the story is Esther (Anna Maxwell Martin), the sensible orphan caught up in the suit. This is

law drama such as *Boston Legal*'s David E. Kelley can only dream about.


▼ I AM NOT AN ANIMAL
SUNDANCE, CHECK LISTINGS

IF GEORGE ORWELL HAD READ *US Weekly* instead of Marx, he might have written this savage cartoon satire rather than *Animal Farm*. A band of talking beasts escapes a secret British facility and pursues the idea of freedom—shaped by a diet of



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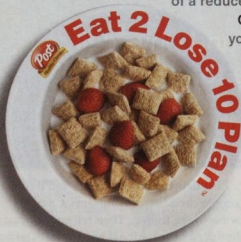
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A Spa for Him Too



Couples spa resorts are the latest rage. Here's why the two of you should share a mud bath

By LAURA KOSS-FEDER

BEATRICE FOXMAN HAD TO DRAG her husband Stanley to their first spa vacation eight years ago. It just didn't seem very, well, manly, Stanley says. But after a few active yet peaceful days in the warm sun—and as many deep-tissue massages—Stanley was singing a different tune. “Men are taking a different approach to remaining

FACE TO FACE
Men and women enjoy mud masks specially designed to cleanse and exfoliate their different types of skin



healthy and looking and feeling good," he says. Now the couple from Silver Spring, Md., get to a spa as often as time permits. They have been to the spa at the Ritz-Carlton in Key Biscayne, Fla., nine times in the past three years.

Stanley, a dentist, and Beatrice, an office manager at his practice, are both 65. They swim, read and take long walks on the beach during their spa visits—and increasingly they find themselves bumping into other couples their age and

creator of the certificate program in spa and hospitality management at the University of California at Irvine. "[The TV show] *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* has done a lot toward reassuring men that it is O.K. to get a massage."

Spa therapies also have proven medical benefits. Massages and reflexology, during which muscles are rubbed and soothed and blood flow is increased in aching areas, help lower blood pressure, boost circulation and alleviate arthritis pain, says Dr.

Gisele Wolf-Klein, chief of geriatrics at the North Shore–Long Island Jewish Health System in New Hyde Park, N.Y. Her colleague Dr. Laura Herman, a psychiatrist, adds that calm surroundings and relaxing treatments help release to the brain more endorphins, which are chemicals that promote an overall feeling of well-being and happiness. As boomers begin turning 60 this year, they increasingly have the resources to afford that kind of upscale pampering. The average price for a resort massage is \$120, reports magazine and website *Spa Finder* (spafinder.com). Facials cost \$120, manicures \$35 and pedicures \$60. Most spa visitors indulge in at least one treatment a day. That is on top of the

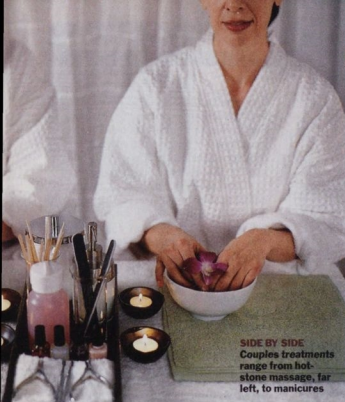


“MEN LIKE ME just didn’t do this ... Now I may initiate our next spa vacation.” —Steve Landon, retired executive

Women have long appreciated the spa as a place to relieve tension and stress. Now the men in their lives are discovering the same benefits. KSL Resorts in La Quinta, Calif., surveyed boomer men in October and found that 20% of them had been to a spa. That’s up from less than 1% five years ago, says Arthur Berg, vice president of marketing for KSL. “You used to see the wives in this age group go to the spas while the husbands played golf,” Berg says. Now the men, driven to stay fit and attractive and to reward themselves for years of hard work, are enjoying everything from manicures to mud baths. “The stigma is gone,” says Kirwan Rockefeller, a social and behavioral scientist and co-

usual airfare, meals and rooms that run several hundred dollars a day.

Floyd Isley, 65, a former Air Force pilot and now a semiretired high-tech consultant in Carlsbad, Calif., and wife Dianna, 61, a retired nurse, haven’t any qualms about shelling out whatever it takes. “We’re enjoying the fruits of our labor,” Dianna says. The couple recently spent \$1,500 for massages on a weeklong getaway. They visit a day spa once a week near their home. “We like the deep-tissue massages that really



SIDE BY SIDE
Couples treatments
range from hot-
stone massage, far
left, to manicures

help ease any physical discomfort," Dianna says. "It's our therapy for stress and anxiety."

Spa resorts are responding to growing demand from folks like the Isleys by offering facilities better suited to side-by-side treatments and new male-oriented services, such as barbershop-style shaves and massages specifically designed to ease muscles sore from sports and heavy lifting, says *Spa Finder* president Susie Ellis. Spa Toccara at the Borgata Hotel Casino & Spa in Atlantic City, N.J., features a Yo' Rock Facial (\$150 for 50 minutes), which offers cleansing and exfoliation with products specifically designed for men's skin, and a barbershop with a pool table and leather lounge chairs.

"Men like me just didn't do this kind of thing years ago, but now I think I may just initiate our next spa vacation," says Steve Landon, 59, a retired phone-company executive who in October took his first spa trip, to Scottsdale, Ariz., with his wife Cathy, 58, a retired elementary school teacher. The Colleyville,

Texas, couple enjoyed massages and facials during their four-day getaway. Spa veterans Carolyn and Giovanni Panizzi of Valdosta, Ga., co-owners of a staffing-services company, have been to about 15 spa resorts across the country. "Resorts are catering more to baby boomers who want to be pampered but not overly fussed over—particularly men," says Giovanni, 58. "They're understanding our needs better."

Retired police officer Harry McCormick, 68, of Northport, N.Y., was so relaxed during his visit to the Cranwell Resort, Spa & Golf Club in Lenox, Mass., that while there he managed to write the last pages of a book about his life in law enforcement—between massages and frequent stops at the pool, sauna and steam room. He and wife Maureen, 66, a retired secretary, stay at the hotel at least twice a year. They spend about \$700 on treatments, including Maureen's facials and his deep-tissue massages, which give him relief from two herniated discs. "It's like Dorothy finding her own special Land of Oz," says Harry. "These treatments are a quiet, peaceful oasis for me, even though they don't come cheap."

For those seeking a more comprehensive overhaul, there are medical spas that offer full health-assessment programs. The granddaddy is the Canyon Ranch Health Resort in Tucson, Ariz., where staff members include physicians, nurses, psychologists, exercise physiologists and nutritionists. The resort's two-year-old Executive Health Program, which calls for four days of complete medical exams, laboratory work, stress tests and bone-density tests, is geared toward boomers, says director Dr. Philip Eichling, and costs about \$3,500.

Coming soon: multigenerational spas to accommodate grandfathers with grandsons and grandmothers with granddaughters. Another growth area will be residential spas featuring large hotel rooms designed for in-room treatments, says Gordon Tareta, global director of spas at Chicago-based Hyatt Hotels Corp., which has such rooms at properties in Bangkok, Dubai and Hong Kong. "Boomers who have worked hard for so many years now have the chance to enjoy the ultimate in relaxation and convenience without having to leave their guest rooms," Tareta says. "They're embarking on a whole new generation of luxury, and the men are loving it even more than the women." So the couples spa movement promises to be around for a while. ■

FIVE TOP SPAS

■ **MONTAGE RESORT & SPA,**
Laguna Beach, Calif.
montagelagunabeach.com
Five-star hotel boasts ultra-luxurious amenities; programs combine exercise with pampering

■ **MANDARIN ORIENTAL,**
Miami, Fla.
mandarinoriental.com
Holistic treatments inspired by ancient cultures focus on the mind as well as the body

■ **WILLOW STREAM SPA,**
Scottsdale, Ariz.
fairmont.com/scottsdale
Therapies inspired by local environment include the famous Arizona Aloe Eucalyptus Scrub



■ **BOULDERS RESORT & GOLDEN DOOR,**
Caretree, Ariz.
wyndham.com/hotels/PHXTB
Treatments have a strong spiritual component

■ **FOUR SEASONS HUALALAI,**
Ka'upulehu-Kona, Hawaii
fourseasons.com/hualalai
Fitness and spa programs, plus a Jack Nicklaus golf course



BOULDERS



Cold Shoulder

How Bush is alienating many older Americans, and what that means for the coming midterm vote

By DOUGLAS WALLER

DONNY CARROLL, A REPUBLICAN most of his working life, voted for George W. Bush in 2004 because Bush "was trying to do a good job." Ask him how he feels now, and you get a different answer. "If he was running again, I wouldn't vote for him," says the 61-year-old retired plumber from Eureka, Calif. Why not? Medicare's new

prescription-drug benefit is too complicated, he says, adding that "the government seems more concerned about drug companies making a profit than the people getting insured."

Carroll isn't the only one feeling disenfranchised. Older folks' growing disillusionment with Bush bodes ill for Republicans in midterm elections, which are less than a year away. Older Americans are a key G.O.P. constituency. Yet a *Wall Street Journal*-NBC News poll last month found that the G.O.P.'s numbers, which have been sinking, are especially weak among

seniors: 58% of respondents 65 and older disapproved of Bush's handling of the economy, compared with a 53% disapproval rating for those under 65. Senior support of Republicans in Congress shows signs of eroding too, with more saying they would like Democrats to win control.

Difficulty in understanding how to enroll for the new prescription-drug benefit is the biggest issue. Bush claims the new plan offers valuable choices. But seniors find them paralyzing. In most states, they must select from among 40 different insurance plans when what

they wanted was "a simple delivery of their prescription drugs," says Richard Fiesta, director of government and political affairs for the Alliance for Retired Americans. That is aggravated by a looming May 15 enrollment deadline.

Dean Cunningham, 72, a retired railroad-company manager in Albuquerque, N.M., is further worried that he will lose his more generous employer-provided drug plan. He says he can see the day "when corporations get out of providing prescription-drug coverage for retirees and let the government cover it." Angry that Congress hasn't done more to ensure that he can keep his private plan, Cunningham, a lifelong Republican, vows to vote against his state's G.O.P. incumbents in the next congressional elections.

"Over the past year we also had the Social Security debate, in which they didn't support the President's proposal," G.O.P. pollster Bill McInturff says of seniors. "We had \$3-a-gal. gasoline for this price-sensitive constituency. And they were concerned about the war in Iraq. So there's been a lot of stuff going on that's making them pretty riled up."

Surveys have found the elderly to be satisfied with the Social Security system as is—and skeptical of Bush's warnings. "Let's just tweak it to make sure it works," says Carroll.

Democrats hope to keep the discontent burning. Representative Rahm Emanuel, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, sent a memo to the party's House candidates around the country, urging them to "host town hall [meetings] with seniors, visit senior centers and build a higher profile explaining that the Republicans' plan for Medicare is not working."

The White House has put prominent retirees, including former Senator Bob Dole, on the road to promote the prescription-drug program. The party is urging candidates to meet with seniors to explain the benefits. Once the program gets under way and "they see how much they actually save, that's going to change some minds," predicts Carl Forti, spokesman for the National Republican Congressional Committee. Meanwhile, the G.O.P. can take comfort that even though voters like Carroll and Cunningham are angry with the party, they also concede they aren't sure Democrats can do any better. ■

Forbes FYI

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Jonathan Takiff, Philadelphia Daily News

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Stephen Williams, Newsday

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Passion Play

Gail Sheehy's latest tells how women can spice their sex life

AUTHOR GAIL SHEEHY has been examining human behavior for three decades. In 1976, she wrote her breakthrough book, *Passages*, which looks at life's transitions and has sold 5 million copies. In her new book, *Sex and the Seasoned Woman*, Sheehy, 68, tackles a taboo topic: the sexuality of older women and how they can live a long passionate life. Sheehy spoke with *TIME*'s **ANDREA SACHS**.



BEDSIDE MANNER Sheehy, 68, says she enjoys a "lively libido," as can most women her age

What makes a woman seasoned?

Time. She is spicy and, like a fine wine, complex. She is mellow and effervescent, sweet and tart. She can be playful and maternal. I think you see that in Camilla, who waited 30-some years for her prince. She is both a nanny figure and a seductive figure who wears décolletage and form-fitting clothes. She's also a trusted adviser to her husband.

The subject of older women and sex makes many folks uncomfortable. Why?

Older women and sex are something people didn't want to hear or talk about. It used to be that middle-aged children were scandalized if their 70-year-old mom started dating, but not so much if their 75-year-old dad married a 30-year-old. With Mom it just wasn't done.

Don't older men look for younger women?

Usually. That's why older women typically hook up with men who are younger or older than they are. And some are very open about saying they like having several different companions, older and younger. Younger is wonderful for hot

athletic sex, and the older man is really a wonderful cultural companion.

Aren't some older women happy to leave sex behind?

Yes, and there are men like that too. The sadder women are those I call the LLs, the Lowered Libidos, who expressed to me that they had very little libido but weren't doing anything about it. And they seemed to be closed off to knowing or doing anything about it. There are some very simple things older women can do that are healthy and safe.

What are those?

Start by stepping up exercise and drop 5 to 10 lbs., which will boost your body image. Set a goal to meet 50 new people in the next year through activities, classes, the Internet. Vibrators can enhance and preserve a woman's capacity to achieve orgasm, especially during periods of nonsexual activity.

Don't a lot of adult children flip out at the idea of Mom hooking up?

There certainly are middle-

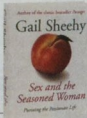
aged children who have an oh-my-God, Mom's-gone-wild reaction if Mom starts to date. But what they should recognize is that if Mom has a boyfriend, she won't be nagging them about how they have to come to her for Christmas. And on summer vacation, they won't have to go with her or take her along with the kids. She'll be off with her boyfriend and his family. And if she's happy, they're going to be a lot happier.

What about sex in a seasoned marriage?

Some of the best sex is among couples who have been together a long time. In middle and later years, libido is reduced for both men and women, so it takes work and planning. When you plan sexual encounters, lovemaking can be more exciting. You may need more fantasy or foreplay. It helps to find a get-away as your private love nest.

Are you a seasoned woman?

I'm learning from all my interviews. I'm healthy, energetic, with a lively libido and a loving husband and more passions than I can pursue in one lifetime. So I hope I'll live to 100. But if I don't, I'll die trying. ■



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- Disturbing sensations in the legs
- Moving offers temporary relief
- Trouble resting or falling asleep

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Requip is the first and only FDA-approved treatment for RLS. Taken daily, non-habit-forming prescription Requip helps relieve the symptoms of **moderate-to-severe primary Restless Legs Syndrome (15 or more episodes monthly)**. So you may finally be able to relax.

Important Safety Information:

Prescription Requip is not for everyone. **Requip Tablets may cause you to fall asleep or feel very sleepy during normal activities such as driving; or to faint or feel dizzy, nauseated, or sweaty when you stand up.** Tell your doctor if you experience these problems or if you drink alcohol or are taking other medicines that make you drowsy. Side effects include nausea, drowsiness, vomiting, and dizziness. Most patients were not bothered enough to stop taking Requip. Requip should be taken once daily 1-3 hours before bedtime. **See important patient information on the next page.**

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Read this information completely before you start taking REQUIP. Read the information each time you get more medicine. There may be new information. This leaflet provides a summary about REQUIP. It does not include everything there is to know about your medicine. This information should not take the place of discussions with your doctor about your medical condition or REQUIP.

What is REQUIP?

REQUIP is a prescription medicine to treat moderate-to-severe primary Restless Legs Syndrome. It is sometimes used to treat Parkinson's disease. Having one of these conditions does not mean you have or will develop the other.

What is the most important information I should know about REQUIP?

- Patients with RLS should take REQUIP differently than patients with Parkinson's disease (see **How should I take REQUIP for RLS?** for the recommended dosing for RLS). A lower dose of REQUIP is generally needed for patients with RLS, and is taken once daily before bedtime.
- There are known side effects of REQUIP. If you fall asleep or feel very sleepy while doing normal activities such as driving, faint, feel dizzy, nauseated, or sweaty when you stand up from sitting or lying down, you should talk with your doctor (see **What are the possible side effects of REQUIP?**).
- Before starting REQUIP, be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking any medicines that make you drowsy.

Who should not take REQUIP?

You should not take REQUIP if you are allergic to the active ingredient ropinirole or to any of the inactive ingredients. Your doctor and pharmacist have a list of the inactive ingredients.

What should I tell my doctor?

Be sure to tell your doctor if:

- you are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- you are breast-feeding.
- you have daytime sleepiness from a sleep disorder other than RLS or have unexpected sleepiness or periods of sleep while taking REQUIP.
- you are taking any other prescription or over-the-counter medicines. Some of these medicines may increase your chances of getting side effects while taking REQUIP.
- you start or stop taking other medicines while you are taking REQUIP. This may increase your chances of getting side effects.
- you start or stop smoking while you are taking REQUIP. Smoking may decrease the treatment effect of REQUIP.
- you feel dizzy, nauseated, sweaty, or faint when you stand up from sitting or lying down.
- you drink alcoholic beverages. This may increase your chances of becoming drowsy or sleepy while taking REQUIP.

How should I take REQUIP for RLS?

- Be sure to take REQUIP exactly as directed by your doctor or healthcare provider.
- The usual way to take REQUIP is once in the evening, 1 to 3 hours before bedtime.
- Your doctor will start you on a low dose of REQUIP. Your doctor may change the dose until you are taking the amount of medicine that is right for you to control your symptoms.
- You may receive a starting kit with doses marked by day. The pills in this kit slowly increase your daily dose over time so that you and your doctor may determine what the best dose is for you. Different people respond differently to this medicine. You may not need the highest dose pill in this kit or you may need an even higher dose to relieve your symptoms. You should carefully follow your doctor's advice on the use of this kit.
- **If you miss your dose, do not double your next dose.** Take only your usual dose 1 to 3 hours before your next bedtime.
- Contact your doctor, if you stop taking REQUIP for any reason. Do not restart without consulting your doctor.

- You can take REQUIP with or without food. Taking REQUIP with food may decrease the chances of feeling nauseated.

What are the possible side effects of REQUIP?

- Most people who take REQUIP tolerate it well. The most commonly reported side effects in people taking REQUIP for RLS are nausea, vomiting, dizziness, and drowsiness or sleepiness. You should be careful until you know if REQUIP affects your ability to remain alert while doing normal daily activities, and you should watch for the development of significant daytime sleepiness or episodes of falling asleep. It is possible that you could fall asleep while doing normal activities such as driving a car, doing physical tasks, or using hazardous machinery while taking REQUIP. Your chances of falling asleep while doing normal activities while taking REQUIP are greater if you are taking other medicines that cause drowsiness.
- When you start taking REQUIP or when you increase your dose, you may feel dizzy, nauseated, sweaty or faint, when first standing up from sitting or lying down. Therefore, do not stand up quickly after sitting or lying down, particularly if you have been sitting or lying down for a long period of time. Take a minute sitting on the edge of the bed or chair before you get up.
- Hallucinations (unreal sounds, visions, or sensations) have been reported in patients taking REQUIP. These were uncommon in patients taking REQUIP for RLS. The risk is greater in patients with Parkinson's disease who are elderly, taking REQUIP with L-dopa, or taking higher doses of REQUIP than recommended for RLS.

This is not a complete list of side effects and should not take the place of discussions with your healthcare providers. Your doctor or pharmacist can give you a more complete list of possible side effects. Talk to your doctor about any side effects or problems you may have.

Other Information about REQUIP

Studies of people with Parkinson's disease show that they may be at an increased risk of developing melanoma, a form of skin cancer, when compared to people without Parkinson's disease. It is not known if this problem is associated with Parkinson's disease or the medicines used to treat Parkinson's disease. REQUIP is one of the medicines used to treat Parkinson's disease, therefore, patients being treated with REQUIP should have periodic skin examinations.

A small number of patients taking medicines to treat Parkinson's disease, including REQUIP, have developed a problem with gambling. It is not known if this problem is directly related to the medicines or is due to other reasons. If you or your family notices that you have an unusual urge to gamble, talk to your doctor.

- Take REQUIP exactly as your doctor prescribes it.
- Do not share REQUIP with other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have.
- Keep REQUIP out of the reach of children.
- Store REQUIP at room temperature out of direct sunlight.
- Keep REQUIP in a tightly closed container.

This leaflet summarizes important information about REQUIP. Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in this leaflet. Do not take REQUIP for a condition for which it was not prescribed. For more information, talk with your doctor or pharmacist. They can give you information about REQUIP that is written for healthcare professionals.



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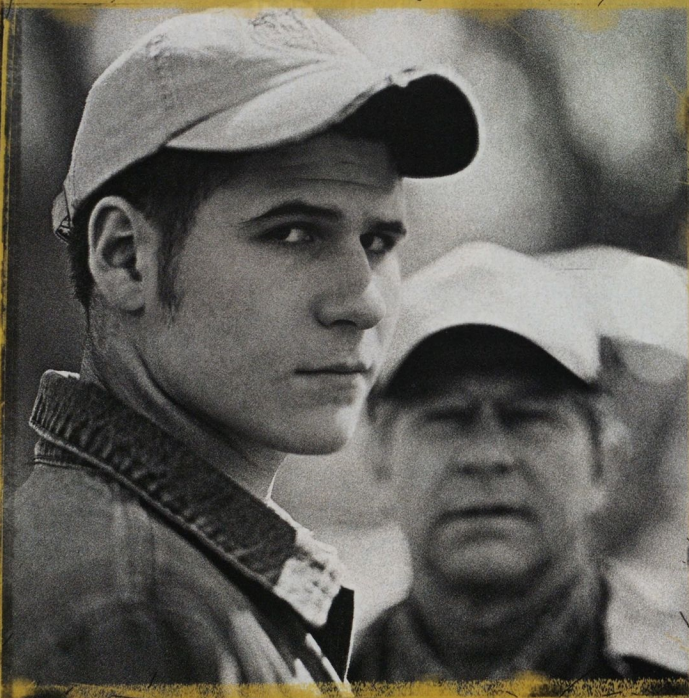
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5,000 CHANNELS: TV ON THE INTERNET

Television content has come to the Web. It's still not very easy to find or use, but there are lots of classics, and you get to watch what you want, when you want. Here's what's playing on a monitor near you —By *Jeremy Caplan*

APPLE ITUNES

The first—and still the best—mainstream way to watch TV programs online is through iTunes, a free program that lets you catch up with episodes you missed or savor those you enjoyed. Download and watch shows on your Mac or PC or, if you don't mind Coneheads that are a millimeter tall, on your iPod.

Site: apple.com/itunes

Top shows: *Lost*, *Desperate Housewives*, *Saturday Night Live*

Best feature: Clean, viewer-friendly design

Cost: \$2 an episode

GOOGLE

Unveiled just two weeks ago, Google Video boasts a variety of content, including episodes of the highbrow Charlie Rose show and such lower-brow fare as *Star Trek: Voyager*. Inexplicably, the site also offers a bizarre assortment of homemade videos begging for quality control.

Site: video.google.com

Top shows: *CSI*, *I Love Lucy*, *The Brady Bunch*, *The Twilight Zone*

Best feature: Wide range of classic TV and sports content

Cost: Free to \$4 a video

VOX POPULI

In addition to network shows, there are thousands of short films and indie videos online. Some highlights:

ifilm.com The best section here is the Viral Video collection, an addictive compilation of short clips ranging from wacky news bloopers and bizarre commercials to a mashup of the movie *Office Space* with a *Superfriends* cartoon.

youtube.com This free-for-all community video site lets you search by subject and popularity based on user ratings.

atomfilms.com This stellar site's categories include drama, comedy, animation and music. Top-5 lists are the mechanism by which the best miniseries rise to the top. For pure laughs, also visit the Canadian site alldaybreakfast.ca.

BOOTLEG MANIA: On networks like Bit Torrent and eDonkey, copies of current TV shows flow freely, but they're illegal to download.



AOL

If your cable provider leaves you panting for even more reruns, take a look at AOL's new online-TV network, In2TV. Starting in February, it will offer some 4,800 episodes of 100 old TV series—3,400 hours of programming in all, delivered over six virtual channels. Each 30-minute episode will include one to two minutes of advertising.

Site: video.aol.com

Top shows: *Alice*, *Welcome Back Kotter*, *V. Kung Fu*, *Growing Pains*

Best feature: Few ads

Cost: Free (with ads)

YAHOO!

Yahoo! is still playing catch-up in the online-TV game. Its best offerings are its enterprising news reports from journalist Kevin Sites and some 10,000 music videos. For those not Trumped out, there are *Apprentice* outtakes.

Site: video.yahoo.com

Top shows: Limited viewings of *Two and a Half Men*, *Supernatural*, *How I Met Your Mother*

Best feature: Webcasts of NASA shuttle launches

Cost: Free

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: INDEPENDENT, EVERETT; VIRGINIA SHERWOOD—ABC; UNIVERSAL; EVERETT

IS BIRD FLU OVERHYPED?

By ANDREW WEIL, M.D.



ANXIETY ABOUT AVIAN FLU is spreading far faster than the disease. Watch enough reports on television about the outbreaks in Turkey, and you could worry yourself

sick. In my opinion, the anxiety is unfounded. At the moment, the H5N1 influenza virus is mainly a threat to birds. The virus can infect and kill other animals but only if they have close contact with infected birds. The big concern is that it will gain the ability to pass easily from person to person, possibly by exchanging genes with an ordinary flu virus in the body of some unlucky person infected with both. That has not happened yet, and until it does, there can be no pandemic. Much has been made of the virulence and

lethality of the avian-flu virus, but new findings suggest that mild and asymptomatic infections in humans may have gone unnoticed; the virus may turn out to be far less deadly than we have been led to believe. Even if it does mutate into a more transmissible form, its virulence would probably diminish over time. That is the general pattern of all influenza pandemics, including the terrible one of 1918.

In addition, we would have a chance to stop the epidemic spread of a mutated avian-flu virus by containing it at its point of origin. A few mining towns in Colorado were able to avoid the 1918 flu by barring outsiders for a few months during the epidemic. Australia mostly escaped because of a strict quarantine of incoming ships.

In 1918 scientists did not know what viruses were and did not under-

The outbreaks in Turkey are cause for concern, not panic

stand how they caused disease. Today we know a lot about them, can make vaccines against them and have some effective antiviral drugs. We also have methods of monitoring disease outbreaks and communicating information about them

that were unavailable in the past. There are plenty of health threats to worry about that are real and that we can take precautions against, among them the ordinary seasonal flu that is in full swing (and can still be ward off with a flu shot). We need to keep an eye on the avian flu. We do not need to lose sleep over it.

Have a question about bird flu for Dr. Weil? Go to time.com/askdrweil



FROM LEFT: ART STRIMBERG—COMING FOR TIME; UNAT BRYAN—REUTERS

DOCTOR'S ORDERS



THE CASE FOR HITTING SNOOZE

That groggy discombobulation you feel upon waking is technically called sleep inertia, and a study in *J.A.M.A.*, reports that it can be as debilitating as being legally drunk. Its most severe effects, however, usually fade in 10 min.

**42%
VS.
29%**

The percentage of risk of suffering major depression that can be attributed to genes, in women vs. men, according to a study of 42,161 twins by researchers from the Virginia Commonwealth University School of Medicine

COUGH SYRUPS DON'T HELP

New guidelines from the American College of Chest Physicians discourage the use of over-the-counter cough syrups, saying they do little to relieve cold-related coughs. The doctors recommend taking an antihistamine instead.



PICTURE ARTS—NEWSCOM

BREASTFED KIDS, SLIMMER TEENS

A new study in *Epidemiology* finds that the longer infants are breastfed—as opposed to bottle-fed—the less likely they are to become overweight as teens. Experts recommend breastfeeding exclusively for Baby's first six months. —By Sara Song



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signed



Kristin Nava
Talent Agent - Abrams Artists Agency
Bentley BA '01, MSFP '02

How Bentley turned Kristin's love of Hollywood into the business of life.

Growing up in California, Kristin Nava always had a passion for the entertainment industry. She also wanted a career in business. So she headed east to the one college that could help her combine the two: Bentley College. She chose a school that integrates a rigorous business curriculum with a broad study of the liberal arts. A school where she could get a well-rounded undergraduate education and a Master of Science in business—in just five years. After graduating from the McCallum Graduate School of Business at Bentley, Kristin headed for Hollywood, where she landed a job as a talent agent with a national talent agency. Thanks to Bentley, she was well prepared to pursue her passion in the world of business... and to succeed in the business of life. To learn more about Bentley, contact us today.



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BRAD AND ANGIE BROOD WATCH

It's official. The world's hottest human is in utero. "Yes, I'm pregnant," **ANGELINA JOLIE** told an aid worker in the Dominican Republic, according to PEOPLE. That pretty much snuffs out any doubts about the relationship between Jolie, 30, and **BRAD PITT**, 42, who for months have been cozily co-parenting two international adoptees, Cambodian-born **MADDOX**, 4, and Ethiopian-born **ZAHARA MARLEY**, 1. The oft denied romance began amid rumors that Pitt and his ex-wife Jennifer Aniston split because he wanted to start a family. Enter irresistible, orphan-toting U.N. spokeswoman Jolie, and by December, a smitten Pitt was formally adopting Maddox and Zahara. Jolie has said she would like to adopt again. Apparently, the couple's shared dream of a U.N.-style playroom has only just begun.



BECAUSE EVERY STORY NEEDS A TORY

It's a wonder Andrew Lloyd Webber didn't beat them to it. In *Thatcher: The Musical*, opening next month in Britain, an all-female cast will sing its way through the life of former Prime Minister **MARGARET THATCHER**, 80. The Foursight Theatre troupe plans to tour the nation with Iron Lady-inspired ditties like *The Cabinet Shuffle*. Nothing says toe tapper like the champion of free markets.



THATCHER: PHOTOGRAPHY; ANGIE: DREAMWORKS; DAVID JAMES: DREAMWORKS



BEYONCE GOES FROM BOOTYLICIOUS TO BOUFFANT

FIRST LOOK

Before casting **BEYONCE**, center, in his big-screen version of the musical *Dreamgirls*, director Bill Condon had one worry: "I needed to know she could become a restrained, sedate character," he says. Once the singer proved she could put a clamp on the amps, Condon picked Tony winner **ANIKA NONI ROSE**, left, and *American Idol*'s **JENNIFER HUDSON** to fill out the Dreams, a 1960s group loosely based on the Supremes. None of the stars has seen the 1980s musical, but no matter. The dramas that show-biz women endure are timeless.

Q&A ALBERT BROOKS

In Albert Brooks' latest directorial project, *Looking for Comedy in the Muslim World*, the U.S. government sends the funnyman to South Asia and he almost starts World War III.

There was controversy over the film's title. People being afraid of the word Muslim is the reason I made the movie. It doesn't attack religious beliefs. There are R-rated sex comedies that are far more offensive.

You were nervous about screening it in Dubai. Did you really think Arabs were that uptight?

When we turn on the TV, there are people saying that everyone there hates America. So what did I know? But they were one of the best comedy audiences I've ever had. They were grateful to see an American movie where Muslims weren't the bad guys. I don't know why this country doesn't do more on a human-to-human basis around the world. We can still bomb them

if that's what we choose, but it wouldn't hurt to take a few more people out to dinner.

Why shoot in India, a country of Hindus? This is dealt with in a scene. A government official tells me, "There are over 150 million Muslims in India. That enough for ya?" Even if I wanted to shoot in the Arab world, I wasn't able to.

Did you film in Pakistan? I'm not going to say. We were near the border, and we might have stepped in.

So what makes Muslims laugh? The Muslims on my crew told me Sikh jokes like "How many Sikhs does it take to play a game of chess?" I had a Hindu driver, and guess what he told me: Muslim jokes. —By Nadia Mustafa



GREGG SEGAL—COMBIE OUTLINE

Andrew Sullivan

We Don't Need a New King George

How can the President interpret the law as if it didn't apply to him?

ASOMEWHAT LEGAL LAW IS A LITTLE LIKE A SOMEWHAT pregnant woman. At first blush, it seems like an absurdity. But President Bush disagrees. In the past five years, quietly but systematically, he has been arguing that the law doesn't always apply to him. How has he done this? By attaching "signing statements" that spell out his own attitude to bills he signs.

Previous Presidents have sporadically issued signing statements, but seldom and mainly as boilerplate or spin. Until the 1980s, there had been just over a dozen in two centuries. The President's basic legislative weapon, after all, is the veto power given him by the founders. He can use the power as leverage to affect legislation or kill it. But he cannot legislate himself or interpret the law counter to Congress's intent. Signing statements were therefore relatively rare instances of presidential nuance or push-back. In eight years, Ronald Reagan used signing statements to challenge 71 legislative provisions, and Bill Clinton 105.

In five years, President Bush has already challenged up to 500 provisions, according to one tally—far, far more than any predecessor. But more important than the number under Bush has been the systematic use of the statements and the scope of their content, asserting a very broad legal loophole for the Executive. Last December, for example, after a year of debate, the President signed the McCain amendment into law. In the wake of Abu Ghraib, the amendment banned all "cruel, inhuman and degrading" treatment of U.S. military detainees. For months, the President threatened a veto. Then the Senate passed it 90 to 9. The House chimed in with a veto-proof majority. So Bush backed down, embraced McCain and signed it. The debate was over, right? That's how our democracy works, right?

Not according to this President. Although the meaning of the law was crystal clear and the Constitution says Congress has the exclusive power to "make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water," Bush demurred.

He issued a signing statement that read, "The executive branch shall construe Title X in Division A of the Act, relating to detainees, in a manner consistent with the constitutional authority of the President to supervise the unitary executive

branch and as Commander in Chief and consistent with the constitutional limitations on the judicial power."

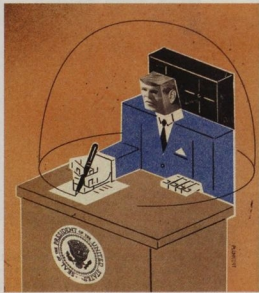
Translation: If the President believes torture is warranted to protect the country, he'll violate the law and authorize torture. If the courts try to stop him, he'll ignore them too. This wasn't quibbling or spinning. Like the old English kings who insisted that Parliament could not tell them what to do, Bush all but declared himself above a law he signed. One professor who specializes in this constitutional area, Phillip J. Cooper of Portland State University in Oregon, has described the power grabs as "breathhtaking."

And who came up with this innovative use of presidential signing statements? Drumroll, please. Samuel Alito, Supreme Court nominee, way back in 1986. In a Feb. 5 memo, he wrote, "Since the president's approval is just as important as that of the House or Senate, it seems to follow that the president's understanding of the bill should be just as important as that of Congress." That is, of course, a very strange idea—which is why, until then, signing statements had been sporadic and rare. Courts have always looked solely to congressional debates in interpreting laws Congress has passed. In laws with veto-proof margins, the President's view is utterly

irrelevant. Alito seemed to concede that at the time, recognizing the "novelty of the procedure and the potential increase of presidential power."

Alito, of course, didn't foresee the war on terrorism. But put a war President's power together with the new use of signing statements, and Executive clout has been put on steroids. "If you take this to its logical conclusion, because during war the Commander in Chief has an obligation to protect us, any statute on the books could be summarily waived," argued Senator Lindsey Graham, a Republican from South Carolina.

As Graham shows, this isn't a Republican-Democrat issue. It's a very basic one. A President, Democrat or Republican, has every right to act unilaterally at times to defend the country. But a democracy cannot work if the person who is deputized to execute the laws exempts himself from them when he feels like it. Forget the imperial presidency. This is more like a monarchical one. America began by rejecting the claims of one King George. It's disturbing to think we may now be quietly instilling a second one.



Andrew Sullivan's blog, the Daily Dish, can be found at time.com

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